

League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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City of Minneapolis

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

#### REPORT ON OPERATIONS

June 1, 1947 - June 30, 1950

#### History

The Fair Employment Practice Ordinance was passed by the Minneapolis City Council on January 31, 1947 by a vote of twenty-one to three. Two of the three aldermen who voted against the Ordinance stated that they favored it in principle but questioned the authority of the City Council to enact this type of logislation. One of these aldermen proposed a resolution urging the State Legislature to pass a state fair employment practice law and this resolution was adopted. The Ordinance became effective on February 5th. The five Commission members were appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the City Council on May 9, 1947. The first chairman of the commission was George M. Jensen, Regional Zone Manager of the Nash Kelvinator Corporation. The other original members of the Commission were Raymond W. Cennon, Attorney and one of the founders of the Minneapolis Urban Loague; Amos S. Deinard, Attorney and Jewish Co-Chairman of the National Conference of Christians and Jows; Jack Jorgenson, President of the Teamsters Joint Council, AFL; and Lawrence E. Kelley, Circulation Manager of the Minnoapolis Times and former President of the Minneapolis Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Because of the pressure of other business, Mr. Jensen and Mr. Jorgensen found it necessary to resign from the Commission at the end of 1948. At the request of Mayor Hover, the City Council voted on January 28, 1949, to name Amos S. Deinard as chairman and to appoint Abbott Washburn, Public Relations Director of General Mills, Inc., to replace Mr. Jensen; and to appoint Howard F. Fortier, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 1140 of the United Electrical Workers to replace Mr. Jorgensen. In the summer of 1950, Mr. Fortier withdrew from the United Electrical Workers and became financial secretary of Local 974 of the Warehousemen's Union, AFL. Lawrence E. Kelley moved to Los Angeles and the City Council voted on October 28, 1949, to confirm Mayor Hoyer's appointment of C. William Sykora to succeed him. Mr. Sykora is an attorney and had been active as chairman of the Civic Affairs Committee of the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

'In carrying forward its work, the Commission has recognized the importance of gaining the active cooperation of business, labor and civic groups and of citizens generally in opening employment opportunities on the basis of merit and without discrimination. To this end, the Commission members and the Executive Director have participated in discussions of fair employment practices with a great number of business, civic, labor and student groups. They have also prepared and circulated copies of the Ordinance and of two educational pamphlets entitled respectively, "Minneapolis Safeguards Freedom of Employment Opportunity" and "What FEPC Means to You". The Hennepin County Council of the CIO and the Central Labor Union of the AFL cooperated by distributing these pamphlets at their Council meetings and by mailing them to the presidents and secretaries of each of their local unions. Associated Industries, the organization of major Minneapolis employers, printed the full text of the Ordinance in its newsletter at the time it was originally passed and again when the amendments were adopted. It also distributed copies of the two pamphlets to its entire membership at no cost to the Commission.

The Minneapolis branches of the Urban League and of the NAACP distributed the Commission's pamphlets by mail to their entire membership, together with covering letters urging their members to make use of the Commission's services. The pamphlets were also distributed to key members by the Minnesota Jewish Council and by the United Citizen's League, which is the Twin Cities branch of the Japanese-American Citizens League.

On October 29, 1948, three amendments to the Ordinance were adopted for the purpose of strengthening and clarifying certain provisions of the Ordinance. One of these amendments was to make it clear that the inclusion of a non-discrimination clause in city contracts and sub-contracts was intended to apply only to work done within the City of Minneapolis. The other two were designed to prohibit employers and employment agencies from asking questions concerning race, religion, national origin, or ancestry of the applicant on application forms and in employment interviews. The Commission had found that these questions served no useful purpose and that they tended to promote discrimination. In some instances, employment interviewers and supervisors used this information as the basis for exercising their own personal projudice even though top management had no intention of following a discriminatory policy. Furthermore, prospective employees would often interpret the presence of these questions to be evidence of a discriminatory policy even when that was not the case. Therefore, eliminating these questions often protects the employer against a false charge of discrimination.

#### Objectives

The Commission's basic objective has been to promote the general adoption of the policy of hiring workers and placing them in employment on the basis of their individual merits and without discrimination because of race, religion, national origin or ancestry. It has been the Commission's conviction that employment opportunities will be freely expanded only when employers, labor leaders and the managers of employment agencies come to realize that they will benefit as much as will minority workers and the general community from a policy of hiring on merit. The Commission believes that everyone will gain and no one will lose when each job is filled with the worker best qualified to perform it. Selling this idea is the Commission's primary task.

An equally important objective is the protection of minority workers and the general community from the evil effects of discrimination in employment. The Commission believes that it is just as bad to rob a man of his self respect and of his hope for advancement as it if to rob him of his wealth. We cannot reasonably expect people to be loyal to democratic principles if they do not find them being practiced in our own community. It is clear that the community is the loser when workers are prevented by discrimination from making their maximum contribution to production. We are equally concerned with the injury to an individual's self esteem and to his faith in democracy which results when he experiences discrimination.

The Commission has not found strong expressions of prejudice being raised as barriers against the employment of minority workers. It has found instead ignorance and apathy and fear of change which serve to continue habits of excluding from consideration prospective workers of different racial, religious and nationality groups. One of the most serious arguments has been that other workers will object to the employment of a minority applicant and that friction will be created within the working force. Another has been that customers will object to being served by a minority worker and that sales will decline. One of the principle objectives of the Commission has been to show, on the basis of actual work experience, that these feared difficulties seldom arise and that, if they do, they are readily overcome.

#### Results

Since the Commission began its work there has been a gradual but marked improvement in employment patterns in Minneapolis. There has been no general study upon which to base a complete measurement of this progress. Our report can only be based on the specific instances of expanding employment opportunities which have come to our attention. Progress in the field of employment cannot be attributed to the Commission alone. It is the combined result of all the forces that have been at work in this field including the Joint Committee for Employment Opportunity, the Urban League, the Minnesota Jewish Council, the Japanese American Center, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Placement Service of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Mayor's Council on Human Relations and other agencies. Each of these groups has reported that their work has been made more effective by the adoption of the Ordinance and the establishment of the Commission. It has served to overcome the apathy and the indifference of persons concerned with employment policies and has caused them to give serious attention to the arguments in favor of a policy of employment on merit.

The Commission has felt a special responsibility for the practice of non-discrimination by the City government itself. A policy of selection and placement of workers on merit had been established by the Civil Service Commission before the Ordinance was passed. However, the Fair Employment Practice Commission has helped to implement this policy and a number of City departments have hired minority workers for the first time since the adoption of the Ordinance.

The Minneapolis Public Schools had no Negro teachers at the time the Ordinance was passed. There are now two Negro teachers, a Negro psychologist and a number of Negro clerical workers on the staff, and additional Negro teachers and staff members have been hired for the coming year. Also, a Negro educator holds one of the top policy making positions in the school system by serving as curriculum consultant. The schools and the other city government agencies have also substantially increased their utilization of workers of Japanese American and American Indian ancestry and of the Jewish and Catholic faiths since the adoption of the Ordinance.

Minneapolis department stores had no Negro sales clerks at the time the Ordinance was passed. Now all of the major stores have Negro clerks and also employ minerity workers in other positions on the basis of their individual qualifications. Much of this progress has been due to the excellent work of the Joint Committee for Employment Opportunity. The first case brought to the attention of the Fair Employment Practice Commission was against a department store. The successful adjustment of this case served to focus the attention of all the department store managements on their employment policies and contributed to the progress outlined above. Similarly, the adjustment of one or two cases in each of several other fields has had a marked effect in improving employment practices by other concerns in the same field.

This has been true in insurance and finance, in wholesale distribution, in hotel and restaurant operation, and in manufacturing. For example: some of the principal insurance companies and banking institutions have begun to hire Jewish workers for the first time within the past three years. A number of the same concerns have begun the employment of Negro workers in responsible office and clerical jobs for the first time within the past year.

The major manufacturing concerns in the city now hire minority workers in production jobs in accordance with their skills. Some of these concerns gained favorable experience in the employment of minority workers during the war. However, most of these workers were laid off during reconversion because of their low seniority and have been rehired in substantial numbers only since the adopttion of the Ordinance. A number of important manufacturing concerns have begun

to hire minority workers for the first time since the Ordinance was passed and new employers are added to this list from week to week. Substantial progress has also been made in service trades during the past three years. For example, at least two leading beauty shops serving primarily white customers have employed a Negro operator with entirely favorable results. A number of other beauty shops have hired Japanese American beauty operators for the first time. Through the intervention of the Commission, one of the leading hotels gave its first opportunity to a qualified Negro cook. A photographic studio reversed its original decision and offered employment to a Jewish applicant for home portrait work. An architectural firm has hired Negro applicants as architects and draftsmen. A number of concerns have given opportunities to accountants of Negro and Japanese ancestry. Skilled jobs in the laundry and cleaning industry have been generally opened to minority workers. In the construction field Negro and American Indian workers have been hired for the first time as brick layers and their opportunities for employment as carpenters and cement finishers have been improved.

The general policy of labor unions, as expressed by top union leaders, was to admit workers to membership without discrimination before the Ordinance was passed. In fact, the support of the Hennepin County Council of the CIO and of the Central Labor Union AFL was one of the most important factors in securing the adoption of the Ordinance. However, the Commission has helped to overcome some attitudes of prejudice on the part of individual union members and officers. One of the building trades unions improved its integration of Negro members as a result of the Commission's work. Another is considering a Negro applicant for an apprenticeship training program for the first time. A union of postal service workers has recently taken its first Negro worker into membership by a unanimous vote after having conferences with representatives of the Commission.

All Minneapolis employment agencies have now removed questions on race, religion, national origin and ancestry from their personal data forms. This has resulted in a reduction in discrimination by employment agencies on the basis of religious faith. The Commission does not believe that corresponding progress has been made in overcoming discrimination by employment agencies against members of the minority racial groups. When discriminatory job orders are redeived by employment agencies, they appear to be generally complied with, in spite of the fact that this violates the previsions of the Ordinance. The Commission has not solved this problem but believes it has made progress toward its solution by persuading some major employers to specify that they will hire without discrimination when they give their orders to employment agencies.

The results of the Commission't work cannot be measured by the number of complaints accepted and adjusted. It is not the violation of the Ordinance but is its observance which is the measure of its value. Substantial changes in employment policies, including many of these authined above, have been achieved through voluntary action by employers apart from any cases presented to the Commission.

perhaps the most important effect of the Commission's work has been to get major employers to seriously review their employment policies in regard to minority workers. When they do they inevitably conclude that employment on merit is the only sound policy. Furthermore, when they examine the experience of other employers they find that the feared adverse reactions of other employees or customers have not materialized or have been readily overcome.

The most important and the most conservative organization of major employers is the Associated Industries of Minneapolis. The Commission has had no discussion with this organization as such, but the Commission members and the Executive

Director have discussed employment policies at some length with a number of individual members of the Board of Directors. The Commission was very much heartened when a letter was sent to all of the organization's 1500 members by the president in April, 1950, on the subject of employment practices. The letter did not express approval of the FEPC law. In fact it included the statement that "To our way of thinking the fundamental problem will not be solved through legislation." However, the letter went on to include the following very significant statement: "Your Board of Directors believes that the principle (of fair employment practice) quoted above in the first paragraph is traditionally American and that to practice otherwise gives validity to charges of discrimination. As we also believe that the fundamental problem can only be solved through gradual education and practice, it behooves us as businessmen to see to it that the educational processes are given the necessary opportunity to work. It is no good to say 'education will solve the problem' and then stifle the educational process.

"Therefore, pursuant to the recommendations of its committee, the Board urges each member of Associated Industries to consider carefully the matter of equal employment opportunity for all who are properly qualified, without regard to religion or race, to the end that prejudice, real or fancied, be eliminated from our economic society."

Practical Minneapolis businessmen who once had honest doubts about the value of a Fair Employment Practice law have become enthusiastic supporters of such legislation after examining the record of the Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice Commission. Many of these informed employers joined in urging the enactment of state legislation last session.

Bradshaw Mintener, vice-president and general counsel of Pillsbury Mills, addressed a letter to other employers over the state, in which he said: "After considerable thought and reflection, I have come to the conclusion that, as a nation, we cannot afford the luxury of having people in it who practice discrimination....I cannot see how we can ever realize our full measure of national economic well-being until every man and every woman is not only permitted, but encouraged, to work at whatever he can best do, regardless of his color, his religion, or his social standing.....I am confident that after you have given this matter the thought and consideration that it requires, we will be able to count you an ally in the task that faces us in making Fair Employment Fractices a reality in the state of Minnesota".

Stuart W. Leck, president of the James Leck Construction Company, wrote:
"As a Minnesota employer, I endorse the Fair Employment Practice Bill. Action, not lip service, is needed if equality of apportunity is no longer to be denied some of our citizens solely because of their color or religion..... have carefully read and considered your bill. I have confidence that it will be sanely administered, thereby helping to correct present abuses and buttressing our republican form of government".

Both of these men had urged the City Council to delay action on the ordinance at the time it was enacted because they had serious doubts that such legislation was wither necessary or desirable. W. H. Feldman, president of Electric Machinery Manufacturing Company, had shared their misgivings. In explaining how the legislation gained his support, he said: "I should like to express endorsement of the bill to create a state commission against discrimination in employment. While I have long been wholeheartedly for these objectives, I have had some misgivings in the past as to possible abuses in administration of such a law. However, the administration of the City of Minneapelis ordinance has worked exceedingly well because of the restraint and good judgment applied by the Commission. Under the provisions of your bill, it seems likely that equally intelligent administration will result. Certainly such legislation will more rapidly advance the elimination of the handicapping of employment opportunities due to

prejudice. And the attainment of that objective warrants some risk."

The first chairman of the Minneapolis Commission was George M. Jensen, regional zone manager of the Nash-Kelvinator Corporation. He reported that: "A number of employers have expressed to me the conclusion that....the ill effects expected from the legislation have failed to develop....It is my opinion that employers, employees, and citizens of our community at large, have benefited from the salutary effects of the ordinance....Judging by our local experience.... such legislation.....at the state level.....would prove of definite value to the citizenry of the state as a whole".

The trade extension manager of Coast-to-Coast Stores, York Langton, testified before the House Labor Committee both on the basis of his business experience and in his capacity as president of the Minnesota United Nations Association. He said: "The Minnesota United Nations Association strongly supports the Minnesota Fair Employment Practice Act....As a nation profoundly interested in peace, we must recognize that this important issue of doing away with discrimination is the foundation stone on which the temple of peace must rest".

The public relations director of General Mills, Abbott Washburn, serves as a member of the Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice Commission. He appeared in person before the House Labor Committee. On the basis of his intimate knowledge he concluded that the Commission's work "has resulted in extensive correction of discriminatory practices and has opened the gates of employment opportunity to many workers who previously found them closed. It has likewise protected many employers against unfair charges of discrimination".

Harry A. Bullis, Chairman of the Board of General Mills, Inc., recently wrote. "From my observation of the operation of the FEPC in Minneapolis, I believe it has helped....to correct some of these inequities.....Its instigators and present members are all men of good will whose integrity and loyalty are beyond question..... The equalization of employment opportunities is strictly in the American tradition, and anything that promotes that equalization deserves, within reason, our support. I believe the greatest value of the FEP ordinance has been educational. It has caused management to review employment policies and to endeavor to get rid of old prejudices".

#### Methods of Operation

The Commission has succeeded in adjusting all complaints of discrimination by conference and conciliation and without the necessity for either a public hearing or court action. In this respect, the experience of the Minneapolis Commission has been parallel to that of similar commissions operating in other cities and states. The Commission finds ignorance and apathy and the fear of unfavorable reaction on the part of other workers and customers to be the major barriers to a policy of hiring without discrimination. The pressure of a law against discrimination, with provisions for public hearings and penalties, has been found necessary to impel many employers to seriously review their employment practices. When they do so, and when they examine the experience of other employers, they find that the difficulties which they feared do not materialize or are readily resolved. Their study inevitably leads them to the conclusion that they will gain as much by hiring on merit and without discrimination as will minority workers and the general community.

When a complaint is presented to the Commission by an individual who believes he has been discriminated against, the complainant is asked to sign a Statement of Complaint in order to certify that he has correctly stated the facts. The Commission may also undertake investigations on its own initiative on the basis of information received from any source which raises a reasonable question as to whether discrimination may have been practiced.

The Executive Director undertakes an immediate adjustment of the complaint by arranging for a conference with the party charged with discrimination. He proceeds to talk directly with the individual named by the complainant. He provides this individual with a copy of the Ordinance and a pamphlet outlining the Commission's work. He then briefly explains the reasons that the City Council adopted the Ordinance and explains the responsibility of the Commission as a conciliation agency in seeking to secure compliance with it. The Executive Director then asks what the respondent thinks a sound employment policy would be. Almost invaribly, this question brings forth a statement of a policy of hiring on merit and without discrimination. The Executive Director then says that apparently there is no disagreement on the question of policy and the problem becomes the simple one of applying it to the particular case in question. He then presents the facts as given by the complainant and gets a statement of facts from the respondent. In many cases, a second interview is arranged for the complainant during which misunderstandings can be corrected and a satisfactory adjustment made.

Apart from the adjustment of cases, the Commission has sought to carry on an educational program. This has been accomplished primarly through conferences with employers, employment agency managers and labor union leaders. The question of fair employment practices has also been discussed at meetings of civic groups and a limited quantity of literature has been distributed. This educational program has had three principal objectives:

- 1. To prove the value to all concerned of a policy of employment on merit.
- 2. To show how such a policy can be successfully carried out.
- 3. To advise people of their responsibilities under the Ordinance and to inform them how they may use the services of the Commission.

#### Disposition of Cases

During the three-year period ending June 30, 1950, the Commission has adjusted a total of 122 complaints of discrimination. Approximately 32% of these cases have been dismissed because no discrimination was found. In these instances, the Commission's action has cleared the air of suspicion and has protected the respondent against a false charge of discrimination. In approximately 39% of the cases, a feverable adjustment has been achieved. In these cases, the complainant either obtained the position he was seeking or was satisfied with the adjustment worked out by the Commission. Approximately 6% of the cases had to be dismissed because the Commission lacked jurisdiction. In 19%, the evidence was so conflicting that no final determination could be made and the case was tabled pending further evidence concerning the respondent's employment practices. The remaining 4% of the cases were still in the process of adjustment on June 30th. (See statistical summary attached)

#### Nature of Cases

In about 69% of the cases, the complainants were members of the Negro race, in 19%, they were of the Jewish faith, in 5%, they were of the American Indian group and in the remaining cases, the complainants were members of other racial, religious, and nationality groups. About 78% of the respondents were private employers, 13% were government agencies, 6% were employment agencies, and 3% were labor unions. A further analysis of the respondents who were private

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employers indicates that 41 of them were in the service industries, 15 were manufacturing concerns, 14 were insurance and finance companies, 9 were wholesale distributors, 6 were retail stores, 5 were construction contractors and 4 were in the transportation industry.

In about 75% of the cases, the complaint was based upon refusal to hire About 7% were concerned with working conditions, wages, or up-grading, 7% involved discharge, 7% of the cases were based upon refusal to register and refer and another 2% on disciplinary action. One case was based upon denial of opportunity for training, and 2 on refusal of union membership. (See statistical summary attached.)

# Program for 1950-51

During the first six months of 1950, the Commission has held a series of conferences with major employers apart from its adjustment of specific complaints. These conferences have proved fruitful and will be expanded to cover additional employers, employment agency managers and union leaders. The Commission is planning discussion of employment experience with the Twin Cities Personnel Managers Association, the Vocational Guidance Association and with other labor, business and civic groups during the fall, winter and spring of 1950-51. The Commission is discussing with major employers the question of posting a statement of fair employment policy in offices, plants, employment agencies and union headquarters. This statement will take the form of either a declaration of non-discrimination policy or a summary of the provisions of the Ordinance.

The Commission will complete a follow-up of all cases handled to date and will continue to make a periodic check of cases six months after adjustment. This follow-up will include a discussion of the employment practices of the respondent and of the employment experience of the complainant. This follow-up will also be used to evaluate the results of the Commission's work so as to improve its procedures and make its work more effective.

SUMMARY OF

Cases Handled from June 1, 1947 - June 30, 1950

Disposition of Cases	Number	Percent
Cases in Process of Adjustment	5	4.1
No Final Determination Made		
Action Deferred Pending Further Evidence	23	18.8
Favorable Settlement Achieved by:		
Commitment to Follow Non-Discrimination Policy Satisfactory Adjustment of Complaint	32 16	26.2
Dismissed because:		
No Discrimination Found	39	32.1
Commission lacked Jurisdiction	7	5.7
Total	122	100.0
Nature of Cases		
Discrimination because complainant was:		
Of the Negro Race	84	68.9
Of the American Indian Race	6	4.9
Of Japanese ancestry	1	.8
Of Jewish ancestry	23	18.9
Of the Catholic Faith	3	2.5
Not a Lutheran	1	.8
Not a Jew	ī	.8
Not a Catholic	ī	.8
Foreign Born	ī	.8
Partner in an interracial marriage	1	.8
Total	122	100.0
Douber Changed Wage		
Party Charged Was:	95	77.9
Private employer Government Agency	16	13.1
Labor Union	3	2.5
Employment Agency	7	5.7
Investigating Agency	1	.8
	122	100.0
Total		
Complaint based upon:	0.7	71 6
Refusal to hire	91	74.6 7.4
Discharge		
Working conditions, wages or upgrading	8	6.6
Denial of training opportunity	1 9	-8
Refusal to register and refer	2	7.4
Disciplinary action Denial of union membership	2	1.6
Total	122	100.0
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# Classification of Parties Charged with Discrimination

Private Employers	Number	Percent
Hotels	11	9.0
Beauty Shops	6	4.9
Launderers and Cleaners	7	5.7
Restaurants	. 8	6.6
Hospitals	3	2.5
Fublic Utilities	1	.8
Other Service Industries	5	4.1
Manufacturing	15	12.3
Insurance and Finance	14	11.5
Wholesale	9	7.4
Retail	6	4.9
Construction	5	4.1
Transportation ·	4	3.3
Communication	1	.8
Government Agencies		
Local	8	6.5
State	4	3.3
Federal	4	3.3
Employment Agencies	7	5.7
Labor Unions	3	2.5
Investigating Agencies	1	.8
Total	122	100.0
Cases Handled By Years		
June, 1947 - June, 1948	30	
July,1948 - June, 1949	46	
July,1949 - June, 1950	46	
Total	122	

Mpls - Ordinance AN ORDINANCE To Prohibit Discriminatory Practices in employment and in membership in labor unions based upon Race, Color, Creed, National Origin, or Ancestry: to Create a Commission on Job Discrimination, Prescribing its Duties and Powers; and for other Purposes; and Providing Penalties for Violations hereof. The Council of the City of Minneapolis does hereby ordain: Section 1. FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF POLICY: a) Discrimination in public and private employment on the grounds of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry, with consequent arbitrary denial of job opportunities to large groups of inhabitants of this City, foments strife, creates unrest, disturbances, disorders and group tensions, and substantially and adversely affects the general welfare and good order of this City. b) Such job discrimination tends unjustly to condemn large groups of inhabitants of this City to depressed living conditions, which breed vice, ignorance, disease, degeneration, juvenile delinquency and crime, thereby causing grave injury to the public safety, general welfare and good order of this City, and endangering the public health thereof. c) Such job discrimination and the resulting effects on the community and the inhabitants thereof tend to impose substantial financial burdens on the public revenues for the relief and amelioration of conditions so created. d) Experience has proved that legislative enactment prohibiting such job discrimination removes some of the sources of strife, unrest, poverty, disease, juvenile delinquency and crime, and would directly promote the general welfare and good order of this City. e) The right of every inhabitant of this City to job opportunities without being subjected to such job discrimination is hereby declared to be a civil right. f) This Ordinance shall be deemed an exercise of the police power of this City, for the protection of the public welfare and the health and peace of the inhabitants thereof. Section 2 DEFINITIONS a) The word "discriminate", "discriminates", or "discrimination" wherever used in this Ordinance, is hereby defined and declared to mean and include discrimination on the ground or because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry. b) The word "employee", wherever used in this Ordinance is hereby defined and declared not to include an employee in domestic service, or an employee of an organized religious congregation or an institution limited in its membership to persons of a single religious faith. c) The word "employer" wherever used in this Ordinance is hereby defined and declared to include only employers of two or more employees within the City of Minneapolis.

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#### Section 3

It shall be unlawful for any head of department, official, or agent or employee of the City of Minneapolis, or of any department thereof, acting for or on behalf of said City, in any manner involving employment by said City, to discriminate against any person otherwise qualified, in employment or in tenure, terms or conditions of employment; or to discriminate in promotion or increase in compensation; or to publish offers of or to offer employment based upon such discrimination; or to adopt or enforce any rule or employment policy which discriminates between employees or prospective employees; or to seek information relative to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry from any person or any employee, as a condition of employment, tenure, terms, or in connection with conditions of employment, promotion or increase in compensation; or to discriminate in the selection of personnel for training.

#### \* Section 4

Said City and all of its contracting agencies and departments thereof shall include in all contracts hereafter negotiated, a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any employee of, or applicant for employment with, such contractor in the City of Minneapolis, and shall require such contractors to include a similar provision in all sub-contracts to be performed in the City of Minneapolis.

#### Section 5

- a) It shall be unlawful for any employer within said City to discriminate against any person in connection with any hiring, application for employment, tenure, terms or conditions of employment.
- \* b) It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation engaged in the business of or acting as an employment, referral, or vocational placement agency or bureau within said City, to discriminate against any person in connection with any application for employment, referral for employment, hiring, tenure, terms or conditions of employment.
- \* c) It shall be unlawful for any employer covered by this Ordinance or labor union or any person, firm or corporation engaged in the business of or acting as an employment, referral or vocational placement agency or bureau with respect to employees covered by this Ordinance within said City to include in an application form or biographical statement relating to employment any questions or statements designed to elicit or record information concerning the race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry of the applicant.

#### Section 6

It shall be unlawful for any labor union within said City to discriminate against any person with respect to membership in labor union.

There is hereby created a permanent Commission on Job discrimination, which shall consist of a chairman and four other members, to be appointed by the Mayor and to be confirmed by the City Council. The first chairman shall be appointed for a term of five years, and the remaining four members shall be first appointed for terms respectively of four years, three years, two years and one year. Each of said appointees shall serve for his respective term and until his respective successor has been appointed, and has assumed office. After the expiration of the initial term each of the members shall be appointed and shall serve for a five-year term, and until his respective successor has been appointed, and has assumed office. They shall serve without compensation. Said Commission shall be charged with the duties of: a) Effectuating the purpose and policies of this Ordinance. b) Receiving complaints of violations of this Ordinance, and investigating into the merits thereof. c) Promoting cooperation among all groups for the purpose of effectuating the purposes and policies of this Ordinance. d) Conducting studies, surveys, and projects and disseminating information concerning job discrimination and related problems. e) Aiding in the enforcement of this Ordinance. f) Make reports of its activities to the City Council annually or more often, as requested by said City Council. The Commission shall hear all complaints on violations and shall after said hearing certify and recommend to the City Attorney for prosecution those complaints which in the judgment of said Commission are deemed to be violations of this Ordinance. Nothing in this section contained shall be construed to limit the right of a complainant to make and file a complaint without such certificate or recommendation by said Commission. Section 8 Any person, whother acting in an official capacity, or in a private capacity, who shall violate or fail to comply with any of the provisions of this Ordinance shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by fine not exceeding 100.00 or by imprisonment in the Workhouse for a period of not to exceed ninety (90) days. Section 9 If any provisions of this Ordinance or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance shall be held invalid, the remainder of such Ordinance or the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those to which it has been held invalid shall not be affected thereby.

Section 7

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#### Section 10

This Ordinance shall be in force and effect from and after its publication.

\* Note: This Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice Ordinance was originally passed by the Minneapolis City Council by a vote of 21 to 3 on Friday, January 31, 1947. The Ordinance was published and put into effect on Wednesday, February 5, 1947

On Friday, October 29, 1948, the City Council passed amendments which added the words underlined in Section 4 and add - ed Paragraphs b and c to Section 5.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota 31st Annual Convention Minneapolis, Minnesota May 16 and 17, 1950

#### PROPOSED STATE PROGRAM

Civil Rights

by Mrs. Abbott Washburn, Minneapolis

Item III - The League will work for an increased understanding of Civil Rights in Minnesota and for legislation to correct discrimination. As you know, the current agenda defines our working program for the coming year. It is simply a statement of our goals and includes only questions of fundamental importance on which the League believes it can be effective in the next year.

By placing Civil Rights on our Agenda last year we told the world that we considered Civil Rights to be of fundamental importance. We announced by this statement that we would look into Civil Rights and that we expected to come up with some solutions to the problem. This year's statement of the civil rights item expands, somewhat, our goal in connection with civil rights.

Your state board has proposed this item with due consideration, as you can see, to both recognized approaches to civil rights problems . . . education and legislation. The Board considered six pertinent factors in proposing this position to the 1950 convention. 1) Indications by Leagues of their realization of civil rights problems and their suggestions 2) the history of League leadership on problems concerning democratic equalities 3) the history of civil rights and its current status in our society 4) the work load of both state board and League members probable under this item 5) the legislative outlook in this field 6) the consequences of forfeiting a chance for timely action.

Now, as to indications by Leagues of their realization of civil rights problems and their suggestions. It has been indicated by a large proportion of our total membership that such a big subject as civil rights needs further study, but that enough is now known to support certain inescapable conclusions. 1) All of us in a democratic society lose more than we gain by practicing discrimination 2) we lose the skills that minority groups have to offer on the labor market 3) We lose the purchasing power of a large group of the consuming public 4) We pay a higher cost in taxes for disease and crime control, as well as immeasureably reducing our own security in these areas 5) We inspire fear and hatred in every other nation of the world by our discrimination 6) Government was instituted to secure individual rights and therefore it is properly the function of government to protect us from each other. League members who hold these facts to be selfevident from the past year's study and their lifetime background as an American wish to see the League act in behalf of governmental action on these problems, provided such governmental action measures up to League standards. We support nothing which does not meet a major part of our qualifications. Such standards involve administration setup, personnel and finance. These standards at all times guide your Board's decision to determine specific action which will be most effective in achieving the states program goal. Your Board interpreted the absence of suggestions on this time to be a mandate for Board leadership in proposing the item.

The second factor the Board considered in determining this proposed item was the history of League leadership on problems concerning democratic equalities. No League member anywhere forgets that her own organization was born out of a legal move to end discrimination in one area of civil rights. Many League women today

recall what it means to be a minority and to need governmental action to secure a certain right. League policy, formed in the twenties, stated that if human beings are to keep the peace, there must be an understanding that human beings are not to be exploited. The League's history shows that point by point, the League has worked to eliminate discriminations by law, mainly in states. Such work has included the work for extension of suffrage to the District of Columbia, abolition of the poll tax, jury service for everyone, elimination of discrimination in our immigration laws, equal pay for equal work, equal employment opportunities for members of minority groups, independent economic citizenship for women and for the preservation of the greatest degree of civil liberty consistent with national safety in wartime. Such a record of sustained attention was given very serious thought by your state board in making the decision to enlarge the Minnesota goal and continue leadership as other Leagues have done and will continue to do in this basic field.

Your state board considered the history of civil rights and its current status. There are four broad areas of civil rights, everyone of which everyone in the U. S. feels he is entitled. 1) The right to safety and security of the person which includes freedom from slavery, security against illegal violence and assurance of fair orderly legal process. 2) the right to citizenship and its privileges which includes the right to vote and the right to bear arms. 3) the right to freedom of conscience and expression which includes the rights we are all most familiar with...freedom of religion, speech, press and assembly and 4) the right to equality of opportunity which includes the right to an equal chance for employment, the right to equal access to education, housing, health and recreation services, transportation and other public and semi-public facilities. So far these rights have been secured in a real way only by judicial findings, legislation and law enforcement. The vicious circle of poor education, disinterest in education because of lack of job opportunities, no jobs and so no participation in fraternal and civic organizations, and so little political interest has prevented education by contact. Education by information advances but so far has not proved enough to uproot the seed of prejudice which begets discrimination. The process of securing legislation and legislation itself has provided one of the greatest impetus to education. Your state board in evaluating this history believes as League leaders have said from the beginning that equalizing opportunities depend on both community attitudes and habits and upon supporting ordinances and laws of city, state and nation.

What work does this item involve for the coming year? The Board interprets the words ... greater understanding to mean increased understanding of the status of civil rights by your own League members through continued study of materials you already have, new materials issued by state or national offices and qualified private agencies. Reports from various Fair Employment Practices Commissions and FEPC laws will be made available to you late this summer so that you may have ample time to prepare to evaluate any such proposals in our own state legislature. There will be a report sent to you of the recent area conference on Indian problems, also any proposed legislation regarding Indians. There has been a recent National Supreme Court ruling regarding restrictive covenants in real estate dealings which in effect says that no one can be made to discriminate so any state law regarding that is unlikely.

Now, greater understanding also means carrying information on this subject to your own community through open meetings, neighborly talk, press, radio, speakers and the quizzing of those in authority plus those in business and unions. A mimeographed guide called "Know Civil Rights in Your Own Community" could be prepared for you. Action on this item could consist of alertness and opposition to any discriminatory phrasing in legislative bills on education and health.

31st Annual Convention

Civil Rights - 3

Your board does foresee FEPC legislation coming up again in the next session of the legislature. It came so near to passing last time with a vote of 34 to 29 in the Senate that there is little doubt of its having a reasonably good chance of passing at the next session. Any such bill would be judged for support on the basis of what kind of organization it sets up, who appoints administrators, the definition of their duties, the extent of the appropriation, its educational function and its method of report to the public. Current FEPC legislation exists with enforcement provisions in eight states . . . New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Mexico, Oregon and Washington and in two states without enforcement provisions, Indianaand Wisconsin. We will, of course, examine the comparative records in the states with and without enforcement provisions. Generally speaking, FEPC law provides for from 5 to 15 unpaid, representative members on a Commission, a paid director and working staff. The statutes make discriminatory job application forms and help wanted ads unlawful. It outlaws race, color, creed or national background as the sole reason for not hiring, firing, or providing equal conditions of employment. Conciliation is the essence of the administration of this law. Before court enforcement, it provides for a public hearing and cease and desist orders. Court enforcement has never been used anywhere by a Fair Employment Practices Commission. And only two public hearings have been held . . . one in New York and one in Connecticut. Enforcement provisions in the law, however, do make certain that employers will give serious attention to conciliation efforts.

Minneapolis has he no public hearings or court enforcement proceedings in its 3 years under an FEPC ordinance. In a two-year period which was reported last fall (a report is now due) Minneapolis adjusted some 96 complaints. 28% of the cases were decided in favor of the employer . . in other words, no discrimination was found at all. 44% were favorably settled. 8% of the cases were dismissed because the law does not cover and rightfully so, any domestic service, or any employer with less than two persons or an organization limited in its membership to persons of a single religious faith. In approximately 12% of the cases, a final determination could not be made as to whether discrimination had been practiced. Further violation or compliance will be observed. The remaining 8% of the cases were still in the process of adjustment.

Of the parties charged with discrimination, private employers made up 80% of the total, government agencies made up 13%, labor unions 2% and employment agencies, 5%. Any complaint is first discussed with the employer, who in many cases is unaware of the practices of his subordinates and who in practically every case concludes that employment on merit is the only sound policy. Employers are always given assistance in establishing an integrated working force based on the experienes of hundreds of other companies in the field in the U.S. The clear statement of a public policy of non-discrimination in employment and the establishment of the Commission with enforcement powers, have proved to be powerful instruments to carry out the public wish of overcoming ignorance and apathy toward employing qualified workers of all creeds, races and ancestry.

Lastly, on this subject your Beard considered the consequences of not giving fundamental importance to car goal of strengthened civil rights. The state board feels that in the League, state goals reinforce national goals. We are particularly conscious today that if leadership in this field is ever needed, it is desperately needed now at a time when our free institutions are being threatened by a hostile way of life. Those who would destroy us point the finger of scorn at us everywhere in the world and say that in America you have freedome to starve, freedom to discriminate and freedom for group hatred. Everyone asks what we can do to counteract this mountain of propaganda against us before it is too late. The one thing we can do is to make our democratic way work as a system of equality for all. The Board concludes that if the League of Women Voters of Minnesota appears to be against strengthening civil rights by refusing to act when the time to act is upon us, it will be inconsistent with the principles for which the League has stood.

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# ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROPOSED STATE BILL FOR EQUALITY IN EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The bill presented to the Legislature in 1947 was drawn at the request of Governor Luther Youngdahl, Senator Gordon Rosenmeier and Senator Gerald Mullin. The original draft was prepared by Mr. Kent C. Van Den Berg, then Assistant Attorney General and now a member of the Board of Directors of the Minnesota Employers Association. The same bill was presented to the 1949 session of the Legislature but failed to pass in both sessions.

In 1950, the Executive Board of the Minnesota Council for Fair Employment Practice, in conferences with representatives of the Governor's Interracial Commission, decided that a new bill should be drafted to meet some of the objections which had been raised to the earlier proposal. A number of individuals interested in this legislation made a thorough study of the laws already in operation in seven other states and in three separate cities. In consultation with the legislators who had sponsored the bill in 1949, they drafted a proposal which took account of the operating experience of the existing commissions and which met a number of the objections previously raised against the former bill.

A series of conferences was then held with members of the Minnesota Council for Fair Employment Practice and with other business, labor and civic leaders. These included representatives of the Republican and Democratic Parties of Minnesota, the Governor's Interracial Commission, the Urban League, the NAACP, the Minnesota Jewish Council, the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, the Minnesota State CIO and the League of Women Voters.

Two further meetings were arranged by Abbott Washburn, then Public Services Director of General Mills and now a staff member of the National Citizens for Eisenhower Committee. To these meetings were invited such business leaders as Bradshaw Mintener, Vice President and General Counsel of Pillsbury Mills, George M. Jensen, Vice President of the Maico Company, Inc., and Julius Barnes, President of the Barnes Shipbuilding Company of Duluth. Also in attendance at these conferences were leading members of both the State Senate and the State House of Representatives, including both the sponsors of the bill and many legislators who had previously opposed the proposal.

In each of the above mentioned sessions, the provisions of the bill were reviewed and discussed in detail. The pros and cons on each point were carefully considered and agreement was reached on provisions which would effectively overcome discrimination in employment and which would, at the same time, meet valid or reasonable objections raised to the earlier proposal. Out of this process, the sponsors believe that the bill finally presented to the Legislature was carefully designed to prevent any possible abuse and to promote the sound extension of a policy of employment on merit throughout the State of Minnesota.

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# AGAINST THE PROPOSED FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE BILL

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A REPLY

to

OTTO F. CHRISTENSON'S COMMENTS

on the proposed

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE LEGISLATION FOR MINNESOTA

by

Minnesota Council for Fair Employment Practice
August, 1950

Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth August, 1950

To: The Citizens of Minnesota

From: Minnesota Council for Fair Employment Practice

#### Fellow-Minnesotans:

Mr. Otto F. Christenson has distributed throughout the state, a printed pamphlet in which he states his objections to the proposed Fair Employment Practice Act for Minnesota.

For your convenience in studying our reply, we have followed Mr. Christenson's general arrangement of topics. Like Mr. Christenson, we too fear brevity -- not because it will betray us into unfairness toward any of the so-called minority groups, for our interest is not mainly centered in any one group but in all the groups that make up Minnesota, but because our attempt to compress an admittedly complex subject may not give you all of the supporting references and materials you may wish to consult before reaching your own individual conclusions on the desirability of the proposed legislation. Inquiries concerning additional bibliographical references and sources may be addressed to the St. Paul Council of Human Relations, 123 West 5th Street, St. Paul, Minnesota. Other questions may be directed to the Minnesota Council for Fair Employment Practice: Mrs. Arnold Karlins, Secretary, 2764 Drew Avenue South, Minneapolis 10, Minnesota (Wh 6372), or Robert C. McClure, Chairman, 2628 West 44th Street, Minneapolis 10, Minnesota.

#### "First - What We Are To Deal With"

We take the common sense point of view which is traditional in American business: that he who earns more can spend more. An earned dollar is healthier for society than a relief dollar, and therefore, a program that will help keep people off relief rolls - thereby reducing tax burdens - and increase their spending power will be good for all the people of the state.

We grant that some people believe themselves prejudiced against those who differ in race, religion, or national origin. We are convinced, however, that these beliefs are generally the result of thoughtless adherence to old notions, rather than of thoughtful study of modern science and society.

Since government in a democracy is only people -- you and we and our neighbors -- we regard laws as expressions of the people's will and, therefore, we contend that a law designed to prevent the thoughtless from carrying their individual prejudices into discriminatory practices is sign and symbol that the purposes set forth in the Preamble to our Constitution are as vital today as when the ink was still wet on the words:

"We the People of the United States in order to . . . provide for the general welfare . . .do ordain and establish this Constitution."

# "Second - What Brings This Proposal of Legislation in the Late 1940's?"

We find it awkward to have a fellow-citizen ask why we have come, after a century and a half, to a thoughtful consideration of ways and means to extend the promised opportunities of America to all our citizens!

Our answer is this: after fighting two wars in the name of democracy, many of our fellow-citizens have concluded that democracy should begin at home.

The statement that southern white people want to get rid of the Negroes in the South and have urged them to move north is just the reverse of the truth. As a result of the hiring of Negroes in defense plants during the war, and the enlistment of Negroes in the army, southern employers and householders were unable to secure workers or domestic servants at the same low wage rates as before. The most serious criticism leveled by southerners against the federal government's programs for the employment of all workers in war jobs in accordance with their skills was that the south was being deprived of its abundant supply of labor. The pressure became so great that the War Manpower Commission was actually prevented, through local political pressures, from recruiting workers in some southern states for employment in industrial centers where they were urgently needed for war work.

(For the facts regarding the real attitude of most southern whites toward the northward migration of Negroes, consult appropriate pages of Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma; John Dollard, Class and Caste in a Southern Town; and W. J. Cash, Mind of the South.)

Christenson claims that such legislation might stimulate additional migration of Negroes into Minnesota and create employment problems. Negroes have lived in Minnesota since about 1825. The demand for fair employment practice legislation arose out of war-time need for full utilization of available man power. States adopting this type of law have not experienced an influx of Negroes or other groups, just as they have not suffered a business exodus.

No accurate current information on the movement of people in the United States will be available until the 1950 census figures are available. Estimates made by the United States Employment Service and other agencies indicate the continuing migration of Negro workers from agrarian to urban centers and from southern to northern and western communities. The basic factor is a relative surplus of labor in the south and a relative scarcity of labor in the north and west. Increased use of rayon and other synthetic fibers and increased mechanization in agriculture make it probable that the demand for labor in cotton fields will continuously decline. This economic pressure, together with the more favorable economic, social, and educational opportunities in northern and western industrial centers appear to be the strong factors influencing this population movement. The presence or absence of fair employment practice legislation in a particular city or state seems to have little or nothing to do with this migration. In any case, there is no evidence whatever that the migration of minority workers into Minneapolis is proportionately greater than the similar movement into the adjoining city of St. Paul where no fair employment practice ordinance exists.

#### "Third - What is the Purpose of This Type of Legislation?"

The history of fair employment practice legislation has shown that, while the prospect of enactment sometimes brings cries of alarm from certain quarters - experience with this type of law has completely dispelled such fears. Often this tendency to cry-before-one-is-hurt is the result of misinformation as to the nature and operation of the statutes.

The purpose of fair emproyment practice legislation is to protect all of our citizens against discrimination based upon race, religion, color or national origin. Such discrimination prevents the most effective utilization of the available labor force, and hence, lowers the production of goods and services. Such discrimination denies the equality proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence; it harms not only its victims but those who practice it, by breeding poverty, disease, slums, and crime; it is associated with low per capita income, thus limiting purchasing power and business volume; it depresses wages and creates divisions within labor; it injures our standing in the eyes of the world and hampers our foreign policy.

Christenson claims that the purpose algorithm is to compel employment of minorities to the detriment of the purpose of the law forbids discrimination. It confers no special favors, the suresting and treatment of minorities and majority. The commissions already operating in other cities and states have held that the establishment of quotas requiring the employment of specific percentages of workers from different racial, religious and nationality groups is in itself discriminatory, and is not in accordance with the purpose of the legislation; they say that these factors have nothing to do with ability to do the job and that the employer should pay no attention to them, one way or the other.

Only when a minorial worker has qualifications which are clearly superior to those of order to would a commission require the hiring of that particular worker as a second and of satisfactorily adjusting the complaint. This is the policy that any intelligent employer would want to follow. It has been the experience of operating commissions that most employers do favor the policy of hiring on merit, but that some of them are prevented from doing so by their fear of prejudice on the part of customers or other employees. The commissions have been able to draw upon their experience to demonstrate that such fears are unfounded when a qualified minority group applicant is hired.

Christenson charges that the support of a state law against discrimination in employment by both the Republican and Democratic-Farmer-Labor parties and by such political leaders as Bernhard LeVander, Orville Freeman, Governor Luther W. Youngdahl, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey and many distinguished members of the State Legislature is the result of the political pressure applied to them by the members of minority groups.

This statement is false. The members of minority groups in the state constitute such a small proportion of the total population that they are of no political importance. The support of the law by the political leadership of both parties is based upon the conviction that it is sound policy and that it will benefit all the citizens of the state.

## "Fourth - What the Proposed Legislation Provides".

The Minnesota Fair Employment Practice bill, as introduced in the last session of the state legislature, forbade discrimination in employment on the basis of the race, color, creed or national origin of the job applicant. It applied to employers, labor organizations and employment agencies. Like most general legislation, it did not apply to non-profit charitable, religious, social, and/or fraternal groups. Administration was entrusted to a director, a commission, and a board of review. Orders of the board were reviewable and enforceable in courts of law. The only enforcement provisions contained in the bill lay in the power of the courts to effect compliance with their own orders.

Legislation similar to that proposed for Minnesota already has been adopted and is in operation in eight states and in three additional cities. Fair employment practice laws of a somewhat different character are in operation in two other states. The state of Minnesota itself has a law prohibiting discrimination in employment on all public works contracts undertaken by the state or by any political subdivision thereof. In the cities and states in which fair employment practice acts are in force, employers have not found either the acts or their enforcement burdensome.

### Two further points advanced by Christenson for consideration are:

1. "41 states and our national congress have declined to pass this type of legislation notwithstanding the work of pressure groups to secure passage."

The national congress, due to the failure of the senate to impose cloture on debate, has not yet had an opportunity to either accept or reject a federal fair employment practice law. As for the 41 states declining such legislation, in most of them fair employment practice legislation has not yet been proposed. The facts are that, during the latest sessions of the state legislatures, fair employment practice laws were introduced in 23 states, of which 2 were amendments to strengthen existing laws, 4 were enacted, 17 died in committee or were defeated.

- 2. "There is no need for this legislation in Minnesota."
- A. In June 1949, the Governor's Interracial Commission, composed of leading citizens of Minre sota, concluded that the Negro finds it more difficult that the white worker to secure work or be upgraded. To assist in the correction of this inequality the commission recommended the passage of legislation against discrimination in employment.

Other minorities in Minnesota are in a position similar to the Negro. A Minneapolis self-survey conducted by the Mayor's Council on Human Relations established that Jews, Negroes, Japanese-Americans and other minority group members were widely discriminated against by employers. The figures were based on employment records for December 1946, which was before the enactment of the Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice ordinance. Of 523 Minneapolis firms from which reports were tabulated, 63% hired no Jews, Negroes, or Japanese-Americans. On the basis of such facts, the survey committee, composed of leading employer and union representatives, recommended full support of the city ordinance and urged the enactment of a state fair employment practice law with enforcement powers.

- B. Christenson says: "When you attempt to legislate morals you inevitably bring on resentment". But the fair employment practice acts do not attempt to legislate morals; they merely prohibit illegal acts of discrimination. Also, there is no evidence in any of the cities and states in which such legislation is in force that resentment has been brought about.
- C. Christenson cites the award made to the Twin Cities by the National Conference of Christians and Jews in 1949 as proof that there is no need for an FEPC law in Minnesota. The award was made, not because the Twin Cities had solved all their problems, but because they were judged to have made the greatest progress in intergroup relations during 1948.

In that year all the agencies working in the field of human relations and civil rights carried on successful programs of education and action. In 1948, the Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice Commission received its first appropriation from the City Council. In cooperation with the Mayor's Council on Human Relations, the Joint Committee for Employment Opportunity, the Urban League, the Minnesota Jewish Council, and other agencies, it made substantial progress toward increasing employment opportunities for minority workers.

The Minnesota Employers' Association made no contribution whatever, through educational work or otherwise, to the progress upon which the award was based. All of the organizations that did contribute to that progress are unanimous in urging the enactment of a state fair employment practice law.

D. Christenson relies on statistics of cases under the New York Fair Employment Practice Law to show a lack of need, both there and in Minnesota. The New York Commission's 1948 report discloses that, out of a total of 1041 cases, a violation was found in 28% of the instances and a general discriminatory pattern was disclosed and adjusted in 65% of the cases. Moreover, the adjustment of one individual complaint often corrects discriminatory practices throughout an entire industry or area. If any comparison of New York and Minnesota is warranted, the figures show that fair employment practice legislation is useful in New York and would serve a need in Minnesota.

The number of cases dealt with is no measure of the value of this legislation or of the effectiveness of the commissions' work. It is not violation but compliance with the law that is the measure of its value. There is no question that this legislation has led to major changes in employment policy. Such changes have been made by a great number of employers, unions, and employment agencies which have never been involved in any complaints of discrimination brought before the commissions.

## Answers to Christenson's 15 Specific Points

Christenson lists fifteen items which he terms specific points and objections. Eliminating his innuendo and emotional appeal, objective analysis does not support his charges, but substantiates the need for remedial legislation.

1. Christenson states that "some jobs require discrimination".

Of course this is true. There are jobs in which race, religion, national origin or ancestry may be a bona fide occupational qualification. One obvious instance is work in the field of religious education. All such jobs are exempted from coverage by the exemptions provided in the bill.

A. The further argument that people of different groups cannot work together in harmony and good will is simply the product of ignorance and prejudice. Wherever FEPC laws have been passed, critics have found the ground pulled out from under their feet. The frequently predicted friction among employees of different racial and religious backgrounds has simply failed to develop --- as personnel managers in all kinds of industries have attested. Customer resistance to minority sales persons in department stores and elsewhere has been found to be non-existent. Firms that have given fair employment practice a fair trial have found their fears unjustified.

For example. Joseph J. Morrow, Personnel Manager of Pitney-Bowes, Inc., of Stamford, Connecticut, in discussing the Connecticut Act said recently: "If I were asked to select a single fact which impressed me more than anything else in carrying out our program of integrating the Negro worker, I would choose just this: The difficulties one expects to encounter in initiating such a program materialize to the extent of about five percent of what was anticipated. The 'Bogey Man' of race prejudice can hardly fail to disappear when it is really brought into the daylight and put to the test of normal day-by-day contacts".

- B. Christenson implies that a state law against discrimination would drive business from the state, or would make it difficult to attract new concerns. The fact is that states and cities operating under FEPC laws have not lost business to other states. On January 5, 1949, four years after the establishment of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, Governor Dewey states: "Business activity and employment remain at unprecedented levels for times of peace. The number of business establishments has increased by 5% in the last year. Last year the personal income of our people aggregated some 27 billion dollars -- an all-time high". The executive officers of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce have stated that no case has come to their attention in which the existence of the Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice ordinance has ever been discussed by a business firm in connection with a decision to either abandon or establish a business enterprise in Minneapolis.
- C. Christenson states that the canning industries in the state found it necessary to segregate Mexican nationals, Puerto Ricans, Jamaicans, Bahamans, and others. He says that certain races cannot get along with certain others.

Of course, it is true that intergroup misunderstandings may result when people from different groups, and perhaps having different languages and cultures, are prevented by segregation from becoming acquainted with each other as individuals. Furthermore, some unscrupulous employers may find it profitable to promote intergroup conflicts by playing one group against another to hold down wage rates. For example, they may say to a group of Mexican Americans: "If you are not willing to accept the wages and working conditions that we offer, we'll fire you and bring in some people from Jamaica". This kind of practice not only creates intergroup tensions but tends to reduce the wages and purchasing power of workers in the entire community and lowers the economic and social standards of the people as a whole.

An effective state fair employment practice commission would greatly help well-intentioned employers to solve any conflicts which might develop between workers who might speak different languages and have different cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, the opportunity for all the workers in the area to find employment and to receive wages in accordance with the value of their labor would tend to raise the living standards and the economic opportunities for all the people of the community.

2. Christenson states that this bill "would subject employers to damaging consequences from unfavorable publicity whether or not deserved".

The actual operating record of the commissions show that there is no foundation for this charge. Every case is handled without publicity as a matter of established policy. No employer has ever been subjected to unfavorable publicity by a fair employment practice commission.

All of the laws provide for a public hearing as a device for adjusting a complaint if conciliation fails. Only two such hearings have been held to date. One was scheduled by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination in October 1949, after discrimination had been clearly established and the problem could not be solved by conciliation. A few days before the scheduled hearing, the party charged with discrimination agreed to make a satisfactory adjustment. Therefore, the hearing itself was not concerned with the charge of discrimination, but only with the company's proposal for settlement and the commissions' acceptance of it. The second was held in Connecticut after the respondent had refused to cooperate in adjusting the complaint through conciliation. This case is now being taken to court by the respondent with the apparent intent of testing the law.

3. It is charged that this bill "will encourage complaints no matter how unjustified."

On the contrary, commissions dismiss groundless complaints on their own initiative without formal proceedings and before there is any contact with the employer. As Christenson himself stated in an earlier section, the number of individual complaints of discrimination has not been excessive.

The commissions protect employers against unfounded charges of discrimination. In about 25% of the cases in Minneapolis and approximately the same percentage in New York state, the result of investigation has enabled the commission to assure the complainant that no discrimination has been practiced. Both complainants and parties charged agree that it has been of great value to them to have an impartial agency investigate complaints and clear the air of suspicions and misunderstandings. The commissions have operated to ease tensions and to build improved relations between the members of different racial, religious and nationality groups.

4. Christenson states that the bill "fails to provide any protection or recourse against false complaints except that the complaint be dismissed".

This statement is correct.

5. It is stated that this bill "requires employers to hire people they have first declined to hire and to pay them back wages which would affect the authority and efficiency and morale and total effectiveness of any business organization where it occurred".

This provision has existed in other labor practice legislation since 1935. The power has not been abused, neither has the employer's authority or influence suffered. Christenson cannot cite a single case in which the above results have followed from action by any fair employment practice commission.

- After two years of experience with the Massachusetts law, H. D. Hodgkinson, president of the Boston Retail Trade Board, stated: "As a business man, I am in favor of the Fair Employment Practice Act insofar as its administration in Massachusetts is concerned. Great difficulty and trouble was predicted during the discussions prior to the passage of the Massachusetts law, and those fears have not materialized".
- R. T. Barker, superintendent of personnel administration, Western Electric Company, Inc., New York, has this to say: "It is my opinion that the administration of the Fair Employment Practice Law in the states of New York and New Jersey has been fair and reasonable and has not entailed any undue hard-ship on employers who are trying to do a conscientious job. We have not experienced any difficulty in meeting the requirements of these laws".
- 6. It is charged that the bill "will subject employers to public hearings and legal prosecution for acts which might be subjected to a variety of interpretations or judged on the basis of intangible factors".

Christenson contends that it is impossible to prove discriminatory practices in employment. The opposite is true. Discrimination can be proved by the acts and statements of persons against whom a complaint is lodged. In many cases discrimination is flagrant and revealed by union contracts, newspaper advertising, or discriminatory job orders. In other cases, an employer's pattern of rejections or statements made to personnel officers often indicate, discimination. It is no more difficult to prove discrimination in employment than to prove the violation of any other law in which the intent of the violator is a matter of importance.

The commissions have no power to impose penalties; these can be imposed only by the courts after reviewing the facts. It should be emphasized that only two public hearings have ever been held and no cases have been taken to court by any commission to date; all of them have been adjusted by conference and conciliation.

7. The claim is made that this bill "will encourage boycotts and picketing".

The existence of an impartial agency to investigate and adjust complaints and charges of discrimination reduces the probability that the members of an aggrieved group will feel it necessary to resort to such practices. There is no case on record of boycotting or picketing being used in connection with any complaint handled by a commission.

8. The charge is made that FEPC would tempt substantial employers to pay off a few hundred dollars to avoid the publicity of a trial.

We suppose that any law violator might be tempted to resort to practices of this kind to avoid prosecution. However, there is no evidence that any such payments have either been offered or accepted.

Furthermore, even in cases where discrimination has been clearly proved, the commissions have not sought to invoke penalties, but have simply worked to eliminate the discriminatory practice. Therefore, there is little reason for even a dishonest employer to resort to the practices that Christenson suggests. We believe that responsible employers will resent the implications of Christenson's statement on this point.

9. The charge is made that this bill "accentuates collateral social problems".

These problems are poverty, ignorance, disease, juvenile delinquency, and crime. Breaking the vicious circle by providing all workers with an opportunity to earn incomes in accordance with their ability and initiative will help to solve and not to accentuate these social problems.

Under this heading, Christenson argues that education, rather than legislation, is the appropriate remedy. The President's Committee on Civil Rights states:
"We believe this argument misses the point, and the choice it puts between legislation and education as to the means of improving civil rights is an unnecessary one. In our opinion, both approaches to the goal are valid, and are, moreover, essential to each other".

The kind of education that changes attitudes of prejudice is that which comes about when, on a normal, everyday basis, workers come to know the members of other racial, religious, and nationality groups who are like themselves in terms of education, training, and skill. It is this kind of education that is accomplished by fair employment practice legislation and this is the process through which good human relations will be established among all of the peoples of America and the world.

10. Christenson says that "this type of legislation develops heretofore un-known prejudices".

There is no evidence that this legislation creates prejudices that did not already exist. Bringing our hidden prejudices into the light is the best way to get rid of them.

11. Christenson charges that "this bill creates a feeling of antagonism among persons of different races, colors, and religions".

In actual practice, the commissions have not found strong general feelings of prejudice that would cause people to be unwilling to work beside the members of other groups. They have found instead ignorance, apathy, and misunderstanding. The legislation has proved to be a very appropriate and effective instrument with which to attack these problems. The effect of bringing people of different groups together in ordinary work situations has served to eliminate prejudice rather than to create antagonism.

12. Christenson asks: "What emergency prevails in Minnesota that warrants such treatment of our employers and that requires the demanding of passage of such a law".

This question implies that this legislation would injure employers, and that the commissions function as punitive bodies rather than agencies of conciliation. Neither of these implications is true.

Experience has shown that such laws impose no hardships upon employers but simply assist them to eliminate from consideration factors of race, religion, and nationality which have nothing to do with the capacity of the worker to perform a job.

The most important effect of the establishment of the commissions has been to cause employers to review their employment practices. When they do, they inevitably conclude that employment on merit is the only sound policy. When they examine the record, they find that other firms have employed minority workers without any serious objections from other employees or from customers. Any fears they may have had are removed and employers reach the conclusion that the practice of hiring without discrimination is of as great benefit to them as it is to minority workers and to the community as a whole.

13. Christenson charges that "FEPC legislation is a step toward the 'police state'".

Christenson states further that "this type of legislation is the main plank of the Communist platform. . . . It is strictly Marxist in nature, being based upon the recognition of class distinction. It is class legislation".

Fortunately for the citizens of America, the Communist party has no prior claim to the conviction that all men are created equal and are endowed with certain unalienable rights. A fair employment practice law is one of the basic steps in making effective the guarantee of civil rights set forth in our Constitution.

The first state to enact this legislation was New York under the leadership of Republican Governor Thomas E. Dewey. In the other seven states where such laws have now been adopted, whatever Communist support there may have been, has been a liability rather than an asset in securing passage of the law.

This legislation at both the state and national level has been recommended by the President's Committee on Civil Rights under the chairmanship of Charles E. Wilson, President of the General Electric Corporation. It was endorsed in Minnesota by the state conventions of both the Republican and Democratic-Farmer-Labor parties and had the active personal support of Governor Luther Youngdahl and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

The statements quoted in the last section of this report from thoughtful, responsible, and informed business men and civic leaders who testified at the last session of the legislature in support of this bill will show that any implication that this proposal is Communistic in origin, in purpose, or in effect, is simply a false statement designed to arouse emotional antagonism to the proposal.

 14. Christenson states "this law regulates employment agencies to the injury of employers".

The law simply requires both employers and employment agencies to examine the real qualifications of workers for employment, and to ignore irrelevant factors.

The example given by Christenson in which an employer takes into account age, experience, appearance, personality, and the judgment of an older employee of a firm in selecting a book-keeper, does not represent unfair discrimination under any fair employment practice law.

15. Christenson claims that "the law is discriminatory in itself".

Christenson says that only the members of so-called minority groups can file complaints. This is absolutely untrue. Complaints have been accepted and adjusted from people who believe they have been discriminated against because they are Catholics and from people who thought they had been discriminated against because they are mot Catholics; from people who suffer discrimination because they are Jews and from those who believe they had been excluded from consideration because they are mot Jews. The same is true for the members of different racial and nationality groups. Any person who feels he has been refused full consideration in connection with employment because of his race, religion or national origin, whatever that may be, has the same protection as does every other individual under the law.

The commissions have been just as effective in protecting employers against unfounded charges of discrimination as they have been in adjusting discriminatory practices when they have been found. There is no excuse whatever for an employer to feel that he must give special consideration to a minority group applicant because of fear that he will be treated unfairly by a fair employment practice commission.

#### CONCLUSION

The best answer to the arguments of the opponents is that, wherever fair employment practice legislation has been enacted, it has worked.

On March 28, 1949, the New York Herald Tribune, the nation's outstanding Republican newspaper, bore witness to the effectiveness of New York's fair employment practice law:

"Legislation against discrimination in employment is practical and successful. This is common knowledge in New York; the evidence is everywhere plain. There was serious doubt when our State Commission Against Discrimination began operation in 1945, but the subsequent record is one of expanding progress. The achievements have been many and precise, and the New York system is so well established and recognized that it is now taken as a model in other forward-looking cities and states.

"What is our secret of success? First, there is determination firmly and simply expressed in law. Second, the commission gets results by 'conference,

conciliation, and persuasion. Third, our law has teeth. Up to now, the cease-and-desist sanctions of court order have never been sought, which is a tribute to the commission's skillful and fore-handed administration. The necessity for crack-down is avoided by developing a community atmosphere that is progressively favorable. We progress by conscious education; the whole air is cooperation instead of conflict. And this is the triumph of intelligent legislation, the proof that a broad and imperative aim can be harmoniously translated into happy result.

# THE POSITION OF MINNESOTA BUSINESS AND CIVIC LEADERS ON THE PROPOSED FEPC BILL

You have been told that the employers of Minnesota are opposed to a state FEPC bill. That is not true. The 100 letters from employers presented to the legislature by Otto Christenson were secured by intensive solicitation of the 1100 members of his organization. In securing these letters and in preparing his pamphlet against the proposed bill, Christenson has spoken in absolute contradiction to the record of actual experience with the operation of fair employment practice commissions in the three cities, and the eight states having fair employment practice laws.

It was evident that the employers who wrote those letters and who appeared to testify against the bill had had absolutely no experience with fair employment practice commissions and were completely misinformed as to the actual record of their operations.

Practical Minnesota businessmen who once had honest doubts about the value of a Fair Employment Practice law have become enthusiastic supporters of such legislation after examining the record of the Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice Commission. Many of these informed employers joined in urging the enactment of state legislation last session.

Bradshaw Mintener, vice-president and general counsel of Pillsbury Mills, addressed a letter to other employers over the state, in which he said:
"After considerable thought and reflection, I have come to the conclusion that as a nation we cannot afford the luxury of having people in it who practice discrimination . . . I cannot see how we can ever realize our full measure of national economic well-being until every man and every woman is not only permitted, but encouraged, to work at whatever he can best do, regardless of his color, his religion, or his social standing . . . I am confident that after you have given this matter the thought and consideration that it requires, we will be able to count you an ally in the task that faces us in making Fair Employment Practices a reality in the state of Minnesota".

Stuart W. Leck, president of the Leck Construction Company, wrote: "As a Minnesota employer, I endorse the Fair Employment Practice Bill. Action, not lip service, is needed if equality of opportunity is no longer to be denied some of our citizens solely because of their color or religion. . . I have carefully read and considered your bill. I have confidence that it will be sanely administered, thereby helping to correct present abuses and buttressing our republican form of government".

Both of these men had urged the City Council to delay action on the ordinance at the time it was enacted because they had serious doubts that such legis-lation was either necessary or desirable. W. H. Feldman, president of Electric Machinery Manufacturing Company, had shared their misgivings. In explaining how the legislation had gained his support, he said: "I should like to express endorsement of the bill to create a state commission against discrimination in employment. While I have long been wholeheartedly for these objectives, I have had some misgivings in the past as to possible abuses in administration of such a law. However, the administration of the City of Minneapolis ordinance has worked exceedingly well because of the restraint and good judgment applied by the Commission. Under the provisions of your bill, it seems likely that equally intelligent administration will result. Certainly such legislation will more rapidly advance the elimination of the handicapping of employment opportunities due to prejudice. And the attainment of that objective warrants some risk".

One of the most significant statements in support of the proposed Fair Employment Practice bill comes from Julius H. Barnes, president of the Barnes Shipbuilding Company, who has business interests in both Minnesota and New York. He served as president of the United States Chamber of Commerce for three terms and as chairman of the board for three years more. He appeared personally before the House Labor Committee and also submitted a written statement which said in part: "I am glad to confirm to you that by study, observation, and conviction, I feel that the proposed FEPC legislation . . (is) entitled to public approval and public confidence. The FEPC ideal appears to me to be one of even-handed justice and equal opportunity, assured by the authority of the government. The instinctive American respect for fair play would be strengthened and stimulated by such an attitude on the part of the government itself".

The first chairman of the Minneapolis Commission was George M. Jensen, regional zone manager of the Nash-Kelvinator Corporation. He reported that: "A number of employers have expressed to me the conclusion that . . the ill effects expected from the legislation have failed to develop . . . It is my opinion that employers, employees, and citizens of our community at large, have benefitted from the salutory effects of the ordinance . . . Judging by our local experience . . such legislation . . at the state level . . . would prove of definite value to the citizenry of the state as a whole".

The trade extension manager of Coast-to-Coast Stores, York Langton, testified before the House Labor Committee both on the basis of his business
experience and in his capacity as president of the Minnesota United Nations
Association. He said: "The Minnesota United Nations Association strongly
supports the Minnesota Fair Employment Practice Act. . . As a nation profoundly interested in peace, we must recognize that this important issue
of doing away with discrimination is the foundation stone on which the temple
of peace must rest".

The public relations director of General Mills, Abbott Washburn, serves as a member of the Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice Commission. He appeared in person before the House Labor Committee. On the basis of his intimate knowledge, he concluded that the Commission's work "has resulted in extensive correction of discriminatory practices and has opened the gates of employment

opportunity to many workers who previously found them closed. It has likewise protected many employers against unfair charges of discrimination.

Harry A. Bullis, Chairman of the Board of General Mills, Inc., recently wrote: "From my observation of the operation of the FEPC in Minneapolis, I believe it has helped . . . to correct some of these inequities. . . . . Its instigators and present members are all men of good will whose integrity and loyalty are beyond question . . The equalization of employment opportunities is strictly in the American tradition, and anything that promotes that equalization deserves, within reason, our support. I believe the greatest value of the FEP ordinance has been educational. It has caused management to review employment policies and to endeavor to get rid of old prejudices".

In his written testimony in support of the proposed bill, Edward F. Waite, retired Judge of the Hennepin County District Court, said: "As I look back through a long experience, I observe that the time has always come to say 'must' to those who have rejected enlightenment and persuasion; and I believe that in the field we are considering, that time has arrived. Our moral and religious convictions, our self-respect among the nations as professed lovers of freedom and champions of human rights, our economic interest to develop and utilize our potential manpower, prudent precaution against long-smoldering fires of justified resentment -- all say 'now'".

Dr. Lawrence M. Gould, President of Carleton College, presented the following written testimony: "We have no right to expect approval of our way of life by other nations unless we take a forthright position toward matters of this sort. I want to add my recommendation concerning the desirability of such a bill. It is only in line with what we have always protested to be our democratic American ideas. I do not see how anyone who prides himself upon our American heritage can do less than give his wholehearted support to this bill".

The active support of the Minnesota Department of the American Legion was indicated by Nate V. Keller who testified in his capacity as chairman of the Legion's Employment Committee. He said: "The American Legion is very much interested in the FEPC; in fact, at every one of our past three state conventions, our convention committee... passed a resolution indorsing it".

The Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party has given its unanimous support to the State Fair Employment Practice Bill. The written testimony submitted by Orville L. Freeman, state chairman, included the following statements:

"At our state convention on June 15, 1948, the convention of some 1500 delegates, representing all counties in the state, unanimously adopted a clear and unequivocal position calling for the immediate establishment of a State Fair Employment Practice Commission with enforcement powers".

Bernhard W. LeVander, State Chairman of the Republican party of Minnesota, testified that: "The platform of the Republican party adopted at the State Convention in September, 1948... provides as follows: "We recognize the need for the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission to eliminate discrimination because of race, color, religion, or national origin, in private industry as well as in government work,

including the National Guard, at the same time realizing that only education can permanently eliminate the deep-seated emotional prejudices which are the cause of discrimination. The platform was passed unanimously by 1200 delegates representing all of Minnesota's 87 counties and representing the Republican Party of our state".

In addition to those from whom we have quoted, the following citizens of Minnesota provided oral or written testimony in support of the proposed bill: Harvey Hoshour: Morgan, Chase, Headley, & Hoshour, St. Paul; faculty member University of Minnesota Law School; member, St. Paul Council on Human Relations; Reverend Clifford Ansgar Nelson: Pastor, Gloria Dei Lutheran Church, St. Paul; board member, Minnesota Federation of Churches; member, St. Paul Council of Human Relations; William Seabron: Industrial Secretary, Minneapolis Urban League; Whitney Young: Industrial Secretary, St. Paul Urban League; Robert Olson: President, Minnesota State Federation of Labor, AFL; Walter Finn: Representing Ramsey County Industrial Union Council and State CIO; Lora Lou Mead: Chairman, Civil Rights Committee, Carleton College Student Association, Northfield, Minnesota; Lawrence E. Kelley: Retired Chairman, Minneapolis Junior Chamber of Commerce; member City of Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice Commission; Amos S. Deinard; Leonard, Street, and Deinard, Minneapolis; Chairman, City of Minneapolis, Fair Employment Practice Commission; Wilfred C. Leland, Jro: Executive Director, City of Minneapolis, Fair Employment Practice Commission; Curtis Chivers; Minneapolis Branch NAACP; Isamu Shijo; United Citizens League of Minnesota; Jonas G. Schwartz: Minneapolis attorney; Hubert Schon: United Labor Committee for Human Rights; Phyllis McAllister: faculty member, College of St. Catherine; Frank Marzitelli: Cooks and Bakers Union, AFL; Edward V. Donahue: Amalgamated Lithographers of America; Martin Hughes: Attorney and civic leader, Hibbing Minnesota; Mrs. Mabeth Hurd Paige: Minneapolis civic leader and former state legislator; John G. Simmons: Chairman, Minneapolis chapter, Americans for Democratic Action; 1949 Chairman, Minnesota Council for Fair Employment Practice.

# MINNESOTA COUNCIL FOR FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE

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Bradshaw Mintener

Vice-President and General Counsel, Pillsbury Mills General Chairman, Minnespolis Community Self-Survey

of Human Relations

# CLEVELAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE STATEMENT on PASSAGE OF AN EFFECTIVE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES ORDINANCE

On passage of the ordinance the following statement was issued by John K. Thompson, president of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce:

"The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce has for years recognized the principle of providing equivalent economic opportunity for all. The chamber favors any constructive move to create such opportunity and to eliminate discrimination against any segment of the population.

# VOLUNTARY PLAN FOR YEARS

"In furtherance of this principle, the chamber, more than a year ago, proposed a voluntary fair employment program. This program known as the Co-operative Employment Practices Plan, has been administered at the chamber's expense by the Cleveland Committee on Employment Practices.

"This committee, half of whose members were designated by Mayor (Thomas A.) Burke and half by the chamber, were representative of all segments of our community, and we know that Cleveland will join us in commending the understanding and energy with which they attacked this difficult problem.

"We feel that students of the problem in Cleveland and throughout the nation recognize the commendable influences and long-term effects which the program of the Cleveland Committee on Employment Practices has had in cultivating a proper atmosphere for the solution of this age-old problem.

# "A WORKABLE MEANS"

"The essential educational job which has been performed by the committee throughout the past year, we feel sure, has better prepared employers, employees, labor unions, employment agencies and the general public to fully understand and co-operate in making Cleveland an outstanding city in its application of democratic processes.

"Certain amendments to the legislation were proposed which the chamber studied carefully. The chamber concluded that it was a workable means for carrying forward the educational program initiated by the chamber.

"The chamber does feel that as a result of the past year's educational program Cleveland employers are in a better position to co-operate to an extent even beyond the specific provisions of the law."

# FDITORIALLY SPEAKING

The Clevelander

March, 1950

Official Organ of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce

The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce for years recognized the principle of providing equivalent economic opportunity for all. The Chamber backed up that principle more than a year ago by inaugurating a voluntary Co-operative Employment Practices Plan, and on January 30th brought about a meeting of minds on the part of management, labor and minority groups in the drafting and enactment of a Fair Employment Practices Ordinance for the City of Cleveland.

Certain amendments to the ordinance were proposed. The Chamber studied those amendments carefully and concluded that the legislation was a workable means for carrying forward the educational program which it had initiated.

The ordinance, enacted in amended form, agreeable to advocates of FEPC legislation and to management was not a victory for either side as considered one versus the other. It was a coalition of the sane-thinking representatives of the minority groups with those of management and labor. That in itself was a victory and a smashing defeat to those who have no belief in the American way of life.

The Chamber's participation in seeking a solution to the age-old problem of discrimination, by inaugurating the voluntary educational program more than a year ago, proved to be a sincere, constructive move. Many who looked upon it with skepticism at the time, since have lauded the Chamber for having inaugurated the plan.

The program, financed by the Chamber, was administered by the Cleveland Committee on Employment Practices. This committee, half of whose members were designated by Mayor Thomas A. Burke and half by the Chamber, were representative of all segments of our community. This committee warrants commendation for the understanding and energy with which they attacked this difficult problem.

We feel that students of the problem in Cleveland and throughout the nation recognize the commendable influences and long-term effects which the educational program of that committee has had in cultivating a proper atmosphere for the solution of the problem.

The Committee has performed an excellent educational job throughout the past year. We feel sure its work prepared employers, employees, labor unions, employment agencies and the general public for better understanding and fuller co-operation in making Cleveland an outstanding city through the application of democratic principles.

The Chamber believes that as a result of that program, which reached beyond the city limits, employers have been placed in a better position to operate under the ordinance to an extent even beyond its specific provisions.

Instead of fighting the ordinance, management had a hand in writing it. As one newspaper editorial put it:

"This ordinance is not just government regulating business, but it is business helping regulate itself."

WALTER I. BEAM

THE CLEVELAND PRESS Tuesday, January 31, 1950 VOLUNTARY FEPC DIDN'T WORK NOW CITY GETS THE REAL THING Cleveland can be proud of its new fair employment practices ordinance -- proud that it is again a pioneer in the field of intelligent race relations and proud that the decision was taken deliberately and thoughtfully. In the process, this community learned a lot which should be helpful when the State Legislature again considers such a law for all of Ohio. Most important, we learned that a voluntary FEPC. no matter how diligently and sincerely run, is almost valueless. Cleveland was fortunate indeed that its Chamber of Commerce set up and operated a thorough, conscientious and spirited voluntary FEPC. Its program was so good, in fact, that Philadelphia, which has compulsory FEPC, borrowed many of the educational and promotional ideas generated by Cleveland's excellent committee. But the voluntary plan simply wasn't enough. There was no noticeable change in the employment of minority groups. There was plenty of goodwill, but practically no jobs. Yesterday, the Chamber's committee in effect admitted failure. With a minor change, they agreed to a compulsory FEPC, which Council promptly passed, 25 to 7. Perhaps the new Community Relations Board of 16 members will turn out to be too large for efficient operation. But that is merely an administrative detail. The important thing is that Cleveland has legislated with courage against racial and religious discrimination in employing its citizens. Now it's up to Ohio to do the same.

# MEMORANDUM

To: Local League Presidents

From: Mrs. Phillip Lush, Civil Rights Chairman

Enclosed is a copy of the President's Proclamation of Human Rights Day which will be observed December 10 on both national and state levels.

This might be a good opportunity for local Leagues to bring about a greater awareness of human rights in your community. Your first thought might be to ask your Mayor to make a proclamation, if he has not planned to do so. Second, you might contact your churches and see if they could use the "Brotherhood of Man" theme in their December 10 sermons and meetings for that day. Third, your school superintendent might devote an assembly period to this thought. Fourth, your local newspapers might give both news space and editorial space to this subject.

In all of the above suggestions, emphasis could be placed on the ability of the individual to strengthen Human Rights in this state by informing his state legislators that the Fair Employment Practices Bill to be introduced in the legislature this winter should be passed.

Your Civil Rights Chairman and the material which you have received on this subject, the names and addresses of your legislators and personal contacts with the above-mentioned groups should be useful in this effort.

United Nations Human Rights Day . . BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES A PROCLAMATION WHEREAS under the Charter of the United Nations member governments have pledged themselves to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and WHEREAS on December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations; and WHEREAS the Declaration enumerates civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights and calls upon every individual and every organ of society to "strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance"; and WHEREAS the attainment of basic rights for men and women everywhere is essential to the peace we are seeking: NOW, THEREFORE, I, HARRY S. TRUMAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate December 10, 1949, and December 10 of each succeeding year as United Nations Human Rights Day; and I invite the people of the United States to observe such a day in appropriate manner. IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed. DONE at the city of Washington this sixth day of December in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventyfourth. /s/ HARRY S. TRUMAN Reproduced by the Minnesota United Nations Association, 15th and Washington Aves. S. E., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14.

# LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

# 84 SOUTH TENTH STREET, ROOM 417 MINNEAPOLIS 2, MINNESOTA

Atlantic 0941

September 15, 1950

Re: CIVIL RIGHTS

## Dear President:

It is essential that League members in this legislative session have:
1) information regarding the nature and extent of discrimination in employment in Minnesota; 2) a detailed but simple explanation of Fair Employment Practices legislation — its purpose, the way in which it will work, and whom it will affect; and 3) information in regard to the operation of FEPC in other states.

- 1. To supplement the first requirement (refer to last year's material for background review) we are sending copies of the Governor's Interracial Report on the Oriental in Minnesota. The new report on the Indian will be sent to you this winter when it comes from the printer.
- 2. A digest of state FEPC laws together with one of the proposed bills which will be introduced in this session of the Legislature will enable you to make a comparative analysis of the provisions.
- 3. The latest Minneapolis FEPC report, 1947-50 and the FEPC Reference Manual (see especially pages 40-47) will help you to determine the effectiveness of Fair Employment Practices legislation in places where it is already in effect.

Since the League has gone on record as advocating support of FEP legislation, it is of crucial importance that League members understand what "type" of bill they will support, and that they agree on a bill that embodies all the desirable and essential provisions of an effective bill.

There has recently been organized a Minnesota Citizens Committee on Civil Rights called the "Minnesota Civil and Human Rights Association" with the business office in Willmar, Minnesota. This is a state-wide organization whose aim is to carry the message of civil rights into every corner of the state. It is possible that your group might wish to avail itself of some of the resources (speakers, literature, etc.) of this group. The Mayor's Council on Human Relations and the Minneapolis FEPC both located in the City Hall in Minneapolis are also a source of additional information.

Mrs. George Leonard

Mrs. George Leonard

Civil Rights Chairman

Affiliated with the League of Women Voters of the U.S.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota 84 South Tenth Street, Room 406 Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

January 30, 1951

## MEMORANDUM

To: Local League Presidents
From: Mrs. Philip Lush. Civil Rights Chairman

Enclosed is a copy of the Fair Employment Practices bill which the League is supporting. In the House, this bill is house file number 74. Hearings are being held in the Labor Committee. In the Senate, the number is 69. At present the Senate bill is in the Rules Committee which will probably assign the bill to either the Labor or the Judiciary Committee.

Watch the papers for further developments. Also, look over past material on Civil Rights. There may be a call for action on FEPC soon.

# DIGEST OF FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE BILL State of Minnesota Introduced January 17, 1951 Senate Authors: Senators Mullin, Rosenmeier, and Vukelich House Authors: Representatives Peterson, Langley, Oberg, Dirlam, and Chilgren Purpose: The purpose of the proposed act is to eliminate practices of discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color or national origin. Such discrimination is declared to be "an unfair employment practice," and "threatens the rights and privileges of its inhabitants and menaces the institutions and foundations of democracy." The bill is broadly modeled upon legislation which has been in effect in New York and New Jersey for five years, and in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Mexico, Washington, and Oregon for shorter periods of time. The Minnesota bill was prepared at the request of Governor Youngdahl by the Minnesota Council for Fair Employment Practice in collaboration with the Governor's Interracial Commission, and other groups in close cooperation with the Senate and House authors. Scope: It applies to employers, labor unions and employment agencies, but does not cover employers of less than eight persons; religious or fraternal groups; or persons employed in domestic service, or by their parent, grandparent, spouse, child or grandchild. It is declared an unfair practice: 1. For an employer, because of race, religion, color or national origin of any person, to refuse to employ him, or to discharge him from employment, or to discriminate against him in any of the conditions of employment. 2. For a labor organization, for like reasons, to exclude or expel a person from membership, or discriminate against him in any way. 3. For an employment agency to make a like discrimination in listing or referring for employment. Administration: There is created a commission of nine persons appointed by the Governor, with the consent of the Senate, to serve without compensation. The Commission is charged with the administration of the act. The duties of the Commission are to investigate and correct alleged unfair employment practices. A Board of Review is also provided for with functions as hereinafter indicated. Procedure: A person claiming to be the subject of an unfair employment practice may file a petition with the Commission stating his grievance. Whereupon the Commission investigates the case and if there appears to have been an unfair employment practice, they undertake to correct it "by conference, conciliation and persuasion." If this fails, the matter is referred to the Commission, which in its discretion may make a recommendation for further proceedings. It may request the Governor to appoint a Board of Review of three persons to hold a hearing on the disputed issue in the county where the unfair practice occurred or where the person charged with discrimination, styled the respondent, has his principal place of business. Each member of the Board receives \$20.00 per day while actually employed on the case with necessary expenses.

If the charge is found unproven, the complaint is dismissed. If proven, the Board of Review may make an order that the respondent cease the unfair practice. In case of non-compliance the Commission applies to the District Court for an order of enforcement, filing with its petition a transcript of the record before the Board of Review. The District Court then has complete jurisdiction, subject only to review by the Supreme Court on writ of certiorari: It may receive additional testimony, return the case to the Board of Review for that purpose, or order a wholly new trial of the issue before the Court. Failure to obey its final order is punishable as contempt of court.

For the administration of the act the sum of \$10,000 is made immediately available, \$30,000 being provided for the year ending June 30, 1952, and \$40,000 for the following year.

1/23/51 - e

# A BILL FOR THE MINISSOTA FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES ACT

# Correction Sheet

This bill was introduced into the Minnesota State Senate and House of Representatives on Tuesday, January 16, 1951. In preparing copies of the bill for distribution at the meeting of the Minnesota Council for Fair Employment Practice on Vednesday evening, January 17th, some slight changes made by the authors were not included.

The following changes in the attached copy will make it identical with the

bill as introduced.

- Page 2, Section 4, Clause (1) (a) should read: "by his parent, grandparent, spouse, child, or grandchild, or"
- Page 2, Section 4, Clause (2) should read: "a person who regularly employs fewer than eight individuals, excluding individuals described in clause (1); or"
- Page 3, Clause (2) (c). Omit the words "or other matters related to employment".
- Page 3, Clause (7). Add the words "investigating agency ".
- Page 4, Paragraph (a) at top of page. Insert the following words between "or" and "national origin": "except when required by the United States, this state or a political subdivision or agency of the United States or this state, for the purpose of national security,"
- Page 5, Clause (8) should read: "conduct research and study discriminators employment and labor practices based on race, color, religion or national origin;"
- Page 5, Clause (9) should read: "publish the results of research and study of discriminatory employment and labor practices based on race, color, religion, or national origin when in the judgement of the commission it will tend to eliminate such discrimination;"
- Page 5, Clause (10) should read: "develop and recommend programs of formal and informal education designed to promote goodwill and eliminate discriminatory employment and labor practices based on race, color, religion, or national origin;"
- Page 7, Subdivision 4, Clause (2) should end with the words: "a review board".
- Page 9, Subdivision 7, Clause (1). Omit the words "and serve" after "shall issue" in line 3.
- Page 11, Subdivision 7, Clause (1), Paragraphs (a) and (b). Omit the words "of fact" in each of these paragraphs.
- Page 12. The paragraph at the top of the page should end "section 9, sub-division 8, of this act."

FOR AN ACT RELATING TO DISCRIMINATORY EMPLOYMENT AND LABOR PRACTICES BASED ON RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN ESTABLISHING METHODS AND PROCEDURES FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE PURPOSES OF THIS ACT.

# BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA:

Section 1. As a guide to the interpretation and application of this act, the public policy of this state is to foster the employment of all individuals in this state in accordance with their fullest capacities, regardless of their race, color, religion, or national origin, and to safeguard their right to obtain and hold employment without discrimination. Such discrimination threatens the rights and privileges of the inhabitants of this state and menaces the institutions and foundations of democracy. It is also the public policy of this state to protect employers, labor organizations, and employment agencies from wholly unfounded charges of discrimination. This act is an exercise of the police power of this state in the interest of the public welfare.

- Sec. 2. This act may be cited as the Minnesota Fair Employment Practices Act.
- Sec. 3. Subdivision 1. For the purposes of this act, unless the context otherwise requires, the terms defined in this section have the meanings as-cribed to them.
- Subd. 2. "Board" means the review borad appointed under section 8, subdivision 4.
- Subd. 3. "Commission" means the state commission for equality in employment created by section 6.
- Subd. 4. "Employment agency" means a person who regularly undertakes, with or without compensation, to procure employees or opportunities for em-

- Subd. 5. "Labor Organization" means any organization that exists wholly or partly for one or more of the following purposes:
  - (a) collective bargaining;
- (b) dealing with employers concerning grievances, terms, or conditions of employment; or
  - (c) mutual aid or protection of employees.
- Subd. 6. "National origin" means the place where an individual or any of his ancestors was born or has resided.
- Subd..7. "Person" includes partnership, association, corporation, legal representative, trustee, trustee in bankruptcy, receiver, and the state and its departments, agencies, and political subdivisions.
- Subd. 8. "Respondent" means a person against whom a complaint has been filed or issued under section 8.
  - Subd. 9. "Unfair employment practice" means any act described in section 5. Sec. 4. This act does not apply to:
  - (1) the employment of any individual
    - (a) by his parent, spouse, or child or
    - (b) in the domestic service of any person;
- (2) a person who regularly employs fewer than eight individuals, excluding individuals excluded in clause (1); or
  - (3) a religious or fraternal corporation, association, or society.
- Sec. 5. Except when based on a bona fide occupational qualification, it is an unfair employment practice:
- (1) when a labor organization, because of race, color, religion, or national origin;
- (a) denies full and equal membership rights to an applicant for membership or member,
  - (b) expels a member from membership,

-3-(c) discriminates against an applicant for membership or member with respect to his hire, apprenticeship, tenure, compensation, terms, upgrading, conditions, facilities, or privileges of employment, or (d) neglects to classify properly or refer for employment or otherwise discriminates against a member; (2) when an employer, because of race, color, religion, or national origin, (a) refuses to hire an applicant for employment, or (b) discharges an employee, or (c) discriminates against an employee with respect to his hire, tenure, compensation, terms, upgrading, conditions, facilities, or privileges of employment or other matters related to employment; (3) when an employment agency, because of rade, color, religion, or national origin, (a) fails or refuses to accept, register, classify properly, or refer for employment or otherwise discriminates against an individual, or (b) complies with a request from an employer for referral of applicants for employment if the request indicates directly or indirectly that the employer does not comply with this act; (4) when an employer, labor organization, or employment agency discharges, expels, or otherwise discriminates against a person because that person has opposed any practice forbidden under this act or has filed a complaint, testified, or assisted in any proceeding under this act; (5) when a person intentionally aids, abets, incites, compels, or coerces another person to engage in any of the practices forbidden by this act; (6) when a person intentionally attempts to aid, abet, incite, compel or coerce another person to engage in any of the practices forbidden by this act; (7) when an employer, employment agency, or labor organization, before an individual is employed by an employer or admitted to membership in a labor organization,

-4-(a) elicits or attempts to elicit information that pertains to the race, color, religion, or national origin of that individual, or (b) causes to be printed or published a note of advertisement that relates to employment or membership and discloses a preference, limitation, specification, or discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin, or, (c) follows a policy of denying or limiting the employment or membership opportunities of individuals because of race, color, religion, or national origin. Sec. 6. Subdivision 1. (1) There is created a State Commission for Equality in Employment of nine members. At least one member shall be a lawyer licensed to practice law in this state. (2) Subject to clauses (3) and (4) the term of office of each member of the commission is five years. (3) The terms of the members first appointed are: one appointed for one year, two for two years, two for three years, two for four years, and two for five years. (4) A member is eligible for reappointment. Subd. 2. The governor shall: (1) appoint, with the advice and consent of the senate, the members of the commission. (2) select and designate a member of the commission as its chairman; and (3) fill a vacancy occurring otherwise than by expiration of term by appointing an individual to serve for the unexpired term of the member whom he is to succeed. Subd. 3. The governor may remove a member of the commission for inefficiency, neglect of duty, misconduct, or malfeasance in office after the member has been given written notice of the charges against him and has had an opportunity to be heard. Subd. 4. (1) A vacancy in the Commission does not impair the right of the

-5remaining members to exercise all powers of the commission. (2) Each member of the commission shall receive reimbursement for necessary traveling expense incurred on official business for the commission. Reimbursement shall be made in the manner provided by law for state employees. Sec. 7. Subdivision 1. The commission shall: (1) establish and maintain a principal office in St. Paul and any other necessary offices within the state; (2) meet and function at any place within the state; (3) appoint an executive director to serve at the will of the commission as an unclassified employee under Minnesota Statutes, Section 43.09, Subdivision 2, fix his compensation, and prescribe his duties; (4) to the extent permitted by Federal law and regulation utilize the records of the Division of Employment and Security of the state when necessary to effectuate the purposes of this act; (5) adopt suitable rules and regulations for effectuating the purpose of this act: (6) issue, receive, and investigate complaints alleging discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin; (7) attempt to eliminate unfair employment practices by means of education, conference, conciliation, and persuasion; (8) conduct research and study discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion or national origin; (9) publish the results of research and study of discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin when in the judgement of the commission it will tend to eliminate such discrimination; (10) develop and recommend programs of formal and informal education designed to promote goodwill and climinate discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin;

-6-(11) make a written report of the activities of the commission to the governor each year and to the legislature at each session. Subd. 2. To the extent determined by the commission and subject to its direction and control, the executive director may exercise the powers and perform the duties of the commission. Sec. 8. Subdivision 1. (1) Subject to clause (4), a person authorized by clause (2) may, by himself or his agent or attorney, file with the commission a verified complaint in writing stating the name and address of the person alleged to have committed an unfair employment practice and setting out the details of the practice complained of and any other information required by the commission. (2) A complaint may be filed by: (a) an aggrieved individual; (b) an employer whose employees, or some of them, refuse or threaten to refuse to cooperate in complying with the provisions of the act. (3) Subject to clause (4), whenever the commission has reason to believe that a person is engaging in an unfair employment practice, the commission may issue a complaint. (4) A complaint of an unfair employment practice must be filed within six months after the occurrence of the practice. Subd. 2. (1) When a complaint has been filed or issued, the commission shall promptly inquire into the truth of the allegations of the complaint. (2) If after the inquiry required by clause (1), the commission determines that there is probably cause for believing that an unfair employment practice exists, the commission shall immediately endeavor to eliminate the

-7unfair employment practice through education, conference, conciliation, and persuasion, but if the commission determines that there is no probably cause for believing that an unfair employment practice exists, the commission shall dismiss the complaint. (3) Whenever practicable the commission, in complying with clause (2), shall endeavor to eliminate the unfair employment practice at the place where (a) the practice occurred or (b) the respondent resides or has his principal place of business. Subd. 3. (1) The commission may publish an account of a case in which the complaint has been dismissed or the terms of settlement of a case that has been voluntarily adjusted but the identity of a complainant or respondent shall not be disclosed without his consent. (2) Except as provided in clause (1), the commission shall not disclose any information concerning its efforts in a particular case to eliminate an unfair employment practice through education, conference, conciliation, and persuasion. Subd. 4. (1) On failing to eliminate the unfair employment practice in the manner prescribed by subdivision 2, clause (2), the commission shall notify the governor in writing of that fact and request him to appoint a review board to conduct a hearing in the case. (2) Upon receipt of the notice and request prescribed by clause (1), the governor shall promptly appoint a review board consisting of three members, one of whom shall be a lawyer licensed to practice law in this state. The governor shall not appoint a member of the commission as a member of the review board. (3) A vacancy on the board does not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all powers of the board.

-8-(4) Each member of the board shall receive \$20 per day in lieu of subsistence while the board is in session and reimbursement for necessary traveling expenses incurred on official business for the board. Subd. 5. The board shall: (1) conduct the hearing at a place designated by it within the county where (a) the unfair employment practice occurred, or (b) the respondent resides or has his principal place of business: (2) subpeona witnesses pursuant to Minnesota Statutes, Chapter 596, administer oaths, and take the testimony of any individual under oath relating to the case being heard by the board; (3) adopt rules of practice to govern the hearing before the board; (4) employ necessary stenographers and clerks, who need not be classified employees under Minnesota Statutes, section 43.09, subdividion 4, fix their compensation, and prescribe their duties. Subd. 6. (1) The review board promptly after its appointment shall notify the commission of the time and place of the hearing to be conducted by the board. (2) Within ten days after receipt of the notice specified in clause (1), the commission shall issue and serve by registered mail upon the respondent a copy of the complaint and a written notice requiring the respondent to answer the allegations of the complaint at the hearing. The notice shall state the time and place of the hearing. (3) Within 15 days after receipt of the copy of the complaint and the notice specified in clause (2), the respondent shall serve upon the commission by registered mail a verified answer to the complaint.

-8-(4) Each member of the board shall receive \$20 per day in lieu of subsistence while the board is in session and reimbursement for necessary traveling expenses incurred on official business for the board. Subd. 5. The board shall: (1) conduct the hearing at a place designated by it within the county where (a) the unfair employment practice occurred, or (b) the respondent resides or has his principal place of business: (2) subpeona witnesses pursuant to Minnesota Statutes, Chapter 596, administer oaths, and take the testimony of any individual under oath relating to the case being heard by the board; (3) adopt rules of practice to govern the hearing before the board; (4) employ necessary stenographers and clerks, who need not be classified employees under Minnesota Statutes, section 43.09, subdividion 4, fix their compensation, and prescribe their duties. Subd. 6. (1) The review board promptly after its appointment shall notify the commission of the time and place of the hearing to be conducted by the board. (2) Within ten days after receipt of the notice specified in clause (1), the commission shall issue and serve by registered mail upon the respondent a copy of the complaint and a written notice requiring the respondent to answer the allegations of the complaint at the hearing. The notice shall state the time and place of the hearing. (3) Within 15 days after receipt of the copy of the complaint and the notice specified in clause (2), the respondent shall serve upon the commission by registered mail a verified answer to the complaint.

-9-(4) The commission shall submit evidence and present before the board the case in support of the complaint. The complainant shall appear in person at the hearing and is subject to cross-examination by the respondent. The respondent may appear at the hearing, submit evidence, and present his case. (5) The board shall apply the rules of evidence that prevail in courts of law. The board shall not receive in evidence any evidence pertaining to the efforts of the commission to eliminate the unfair employment practice through education, conference, coaciliation, or persuasion. Each witness at the hearing shall testify under each. All testimony and other evidence submitted at the hearing shall be transcribed. The board at the request of the complainant or respondent shall provide a copy of the transcript of the hearing without charge, Subd. 7. (1) If upon all of the evidence taken at the hearing the board finds the respondent has engaged in an unfair employment practice, the board shall make findings and shall issue and serve an order directing the respondent to cease and desist from the unfair employment practice found to exist and to take such action as in the judgement of the board will effectuate the purposes of this act and shall serve the order on (a) the respondent personally, and (b) the commission and the complainant by registered mail. (2) If upon all of the evidence taken at the hearing the board finds that the respondent iss not engaged in an unfair employment practice alleged in the complaint, the heard shall make findings of fact and conclusions of law and shall issue and serve an order dismissing the complaint on (a) the complainant personally, and (b) the commission and the respondent by registered mail.

-10-Sec. 9. Subdivision 1. Subject to subdivisions 2 and 3, the commission or the respondent may institute in the manner prescribed by subdivision 4 a proceeding in the district court for judicial review or judicial review and enforcement of an order of the board. Subd. 2. Except for a proceeding by the commission to enforce an order of the board, a proceeding in the district court must be instituted within 30 days after service of an order of the board as prescribed by section 8, subdivision 7. Subd. 3. A proceeding under this section must be instituted in the district court for the judicial district in which (1) an unfair employment practice covered by the order of the board occurred, or (2) the respondent resides or has his principal place of business. Subd. 4. A proceeding under this section is instituted by: (1) filing with the clerk of the district court (a) a petition stating the relief requested and the grounds relied on for that relief. (b) a transcript of the hearing held before the board, and (c) a copy of the findings of fact, conclusions of law, and order of the board, and (2) serving a notice of motion returnable at a special term of the court on (a) the complainant, (b) the respondent, and (c) the commission. Subd. 5. When a proceeding under this section has been properly instituted, the district court has exclusive jurisdiction of the proceeding and shill hear and determine the proceeding as expeditiously as practicable.

as provided by Minnesota Statutes, Section 605.09, clauses (2) and (7) from an order of the district court issued pursuant to section 9, subdivision 8.

Sec. 11. There is appropriated out of the general revenue fund in the state treasury to the commission for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act: \$10,000 to be immediately available, \$30,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and \$40,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953.

The best answer to this Communist slander—the most effective way to knock the props out from under it—is for us to go about the job of making democracy work better here at home, and let the rest of the world know about it. One of the best ways, for example, is to pass sound social legislation of the fair employment type, legislation designed to strengthen our democratic freedoms.

Few Americans realize the intense scrutiny to which our domestic affairs are subjected by the people of other nations. They are looking to us, eagerly, for leadership. A tremendously beneficial effect is produced by evidences that we are sincerely tackling the problems of our own society. The Voice of America and other channels will carry word of Minnesota's action on fair employment to all parts of the world, including Russia itself. The result will be an increased unity among freedom-loving people everywhere—an increased confidence to meet the challenge of those who scorn democracy.

Our system today is going through trial by fire. We have before us the opportunity to prove to the rest of the world that we do not merely give lip service to the principles of human dignity and equality of opportunity—but that we believe deeply in them, and practice them in our daily lives.

Our state representatives assembled in St. Paul have it within their power to strike back hard against the Communist Big Lie, by putting a fair employment statute on the books during this 1951 session of the legislature. Minnesota is a progressive state. This is progressive legislation. It is doubly needed now in view of the critical world situation.

It has been my privilege to serve for two years on the Minneapolis Fair Employment Practices Commission. On the basis of this experience, I am convinced that a state commission would be very helpful at this time of national emergency. The whole policy of employment on merit insures the best possible use of available manpower. We can be certain that our free system, making full utilization of the abilities of all workers—without regard to race, religion or national origin—will outproduce the Kremlin in spite of Russia's numerical superiority. In today's crisis there is no place for prejudice and discrimination in employment.

Many of America's top industrial leaders are strongly in support of fair employment legislation. The list includes such men as Charles E. Wilson of General Electric; Paul Hoffman, director of the Ford Foundation; Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association; Henry Luce, chairman of *Time-Life-Fortune*; Wm. L. Batt, president of SKF Industries; and Nelson Rockefeller.

Analyzing the operation of the fair employment ordinance in Minneapolis, Harry A. Bullis, chairman of General Mills, Inc., writes:

"I believe it has helped correct inequities. The equalization of employment opportunities is strictly in the American tradition. Anything that promotes that equalization deserves our support. The greatest value of the ordinance, in my opinion, has been educational. It has caused management to review employment policies and endeavor to get rid of old prejudices."

A special committee of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce reports: "It is in the squalor of our slums, among our under-privileged, amid the frustrations of Americans denied their rights because of race or creed or color—that the Communists would first destroy the faith in our democracy. Such weaknesses in the American system are not irreparable. They can be successfully overcome by an enlightened citizenry."

Such action strengthens our own country. It heartens the free world.

# FAIR EMPLOYMENT LEGISLATION

VS.

# THE COMMUNIST BIG LIE

Talk before League of Women Voters Duluth, Minnesota, January 23, 1951 by

Abbott Washburn, public services manager of General Mills and member, Minneapolis Fair Employment Practices Commission.

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The present world conflict will be settled more by the force of ideas than by the force of arms. We will eventually win out. We will win out because the set of ideas underlying our American democratic system is the most dynamic mankind has ever known.

It is founded on the belief that each individual human being is of supreme importance . . . that each man and each woman derives infinite value and dignity from God. Our founding fathers wrote this into the Declaration of Independence: " . . . all men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Under this manifesto, all Americans are free to worship as they please, to speak their minds as they see fit, to elect their own officials, to work where and at what jobs they feel best suited for, to keep the fruits of their labor, to own their own land and property, to compete in a free market.

We are free—free to grow and create and prosper—bounded only by the limits of our own talents and abilities.

This is the great American ideal. It is so unique and so remarkable that the majority of men and women alive today either do not know it exists or find it exceedingly difficult to believe.

Against this, what do the Kremlin Communists offer? A philosophy that denies the existence of God. That makes the individual an unimportant serf of the State. That tells him where to work and for how much. That controls his speech and even his thoughts. That denies him the right of self-government. That forbids him to own his own land or keep the rewards of his labor. That keeps his life hedged around with fears of the forced labor camp and the splitting-up of his family.

We will win out, eventually, by making this contrast between the two systems clear to the other peoples of the world. At the same time we must constantly strive to make our own democracy work better.

# Stalin's Hate Campaign

The Soviet dictators are desperately afraid we will succeed in getting our message of freedom and friendship across to the other nations. That is the reason for the Iron Curtain. That is the reason for the violent campaign of hatred they have been waging against us since 1946.

The Moscow hate merchants are not troubled by the truth. They paint us as a nation of warmongers, motivated only by greed and money. Our system is doomed to go down in depression. The typical American is either unemployed or on strike. He is inadequately fed, clothed and housed. The cigars, fur coats and motor cars are possessed by only a small capitalist few. The true labor movement in this country is suppressed by the favorite tools of capitalism: the police, gangsters, machine guns and the Ku Klux Klan.

Our elections are won by spending huge sums on campaigns, by hiring gangsters, and bribing voters. Criminals with money don't go to jail. Politicians and judges are bought and sold. Since both major political parties are equally corrupt, the voter has no real right of choice. American liberty is a mirage.

The U. S. citizen is a barbarian—boastful, vulgar, drunken. The streets of American cities are infested with hooligans. Our advertising, our literature and our films are an offense against decency. Our press is in chains, completely controlled by Hearst and McCormick. Under the Marshall Plan we ship only products for which we can find no markets (such as horse meat and chewing gum). In return, the nations

are saddled with unbearable debts. Uncle Sam alone profits.

This is the fabric of the Big Lie. Day after day, night after night, they pump it out over their controlled radio stations and in their controlled press. They repeat the lies over and over in a thousand different forms.

Discrimination against minority groups in the U. S. is one of their favorite subjects. They never lose an opportunity to point a scornful finger at our discrimination problem—to accuse us of being hypocrites who preach equality and practice intolerance. *Pravda* reports, "Lynching is a common occurrence in the U.S., viewed with approval by those who run the nation." Radio Moscow says, "Negroes live in abysmal poverty, hopeless of ever being able to get a decent job or to better their living conditions."

## **Moscow Broadcasts**

The following is from Radio Moscow, Soviet Home Service, September 12, 1950:

"Visiting a park in Chicago, we were not surprised when we saw monkeys in cages to amuse the children. But it is difficult to believe one's own eyes when one sees in a cage live human beings—Negroes exhibited for the entertainment of the public. Only in America, where the Negro is not deemed to be a human being, where human dignity is reduced to naught, is such maltreatment possible."

# And on November 24, 1950:

"The Negro population is not only subject to every kind of discrimination in peacetime but is the first to suffer in war. Negroes are being selected for special detachments and are given the most difficult tasks in Korea."

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# Employment on merit

Report of city of Minneapolis

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

January 1, 1951

To Amos S. Deinard, Chairman:

My congratulations to you and members of the Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice Commission for your splendid work during 1950.

Your efforts toward creating better and fairer employment conditions in our community have commanded the attention of cities throughout the nation.

I believe it is of deep significance that in recent years interest in FEPC work has grown throughout the country because of the valuable and courageous groundwork established by the Minneapolis FEPC.

In behalf of the people of Minneapolis, may I again thank you and extend best wishes for the continued success of your excellent work for the benefit of all persons.

Sincerely yours

Eric G. Hoyer

City of Minneapolis

# Report of Progress toward

# **Employment on merit**

The FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION of Minneapolis represents a new method of dealing with the old problem of discrimination in employment. Since it was established in 1947, the Commission has been working to achieve a far-reaching goal whereby the greatest use is made of every worker's skill regardless of race, creed, color or national origin. Employment opportunities will not be freely expanded until employers, labor leaders and the managers of employment agencies realize that they will benefit as much as minority workers and the general community by adopting a policy of EMPLOYMENT ON MERIT.

Clearly the community is the loser when workers are prevented from making their maximum contribution to production. And the injury to the individual's self-esteem and the loss of his faith in democracy when he experiences discrimination is a matter of serious importance to this community and our country.



Harry A. Bullis

Chairman of the Board of General Mills, Inc.

"I believe the FEPC in Minneapolis has helped to correct inequities. The equalization of employment opportunities is strictly in the American tradition. The ordinance has

caused management to review employment policies and to endeavor to get rid of old prejudices."

# Donald C. Dayton

President and General Manager of the Dayton Company

"We have been operating with people from many minority groups for some time. The difficulties of integration into our organization which we feared might arise, just



never did. Both the public and our own employees seemed to receive the plan with hearty approval."

# What business and civic leaders say about FEPC

# George M. Jensen

Vice-President of the Maico Company, Inc.

"A number of employers have expressed to me the conclusion that the ill effects expected from the legislation have failed to develop. It is my opinion that employers, em-



ployees, and citizens of our community at large, have benefited from the salutary effects."



# Bradshaw Mintener

Vice-President and General Counsel of Pillsbury Mills

"We cannot afford the luxury of discrimination. I cannot see how we can ever realize our full measure of economic well-being until every man and woman is permitted to

work at whatever he can best do, regardless of color or religion."



D. W. Onan

Chairman, D. W. Onan & Sons, Inc.

"The beneficial effect of FEPC legislation, wisely administered, is to open more minds to the point of trying an open view, actually employing members of minority

groups. Our company has had a successful experience in doing that during the past fifteen years."

# Stuart W. Leck

President of James Leck Company, Builders

"Our established employment policy of hiring solely on the basis of ability—irrespective of color, race or religion has worked well for us. The Minneapolis FEPC ordinance



has been administered wisely, thereby helping employers to operate successfully with this American employment policy."

# Doddrick Olson

President, Powers Dry Goods Company, Inc.

"The intelligent administration of the FEPC ordinance in Minneapolis has made it an educational and constructive influence in the employment situation in Minneapolis."





Lloyd Hale

President,
G. H. Tennant Company

"We shall be more effective in demonstrating democracy to the Russian people and to others the better we practice it here. While I believe civil rights problems are

solved only through education, good legislation is helpful in speeding up the educational process."

# How the commission has worked

Complaints of discrimination have been adjusted through conference and conciliation by a five-man board composed of Minneapolis citizens and one paid executive director with offices in the City Hall. UP TO THE PRESENT TIME ALL COMPLAINTS HAVE BEEN SETTLED BY THE COMMISSION WITHOUT NECES-SITY FOR PUBLIC HEARING OR RESORT TO PROSE-CUTION. The Commission has not met strong expressions of prejudice raised as barriers against the employment of minority workers. Instead it has found ignorance, apathy, fear of change and fear of unfavorable reaction on the part of other workers or of customers. However, when employers have been persuaded to examine the experience of other employers, they have found that these feared difficulties seldom arise and that, if they do, they are readily overcome. In 30 per cent of its cases the Commission has protected employers or others against r'air charges of discrimination.

# **ACTION ON CASES**

41% Reached favorable adjustment

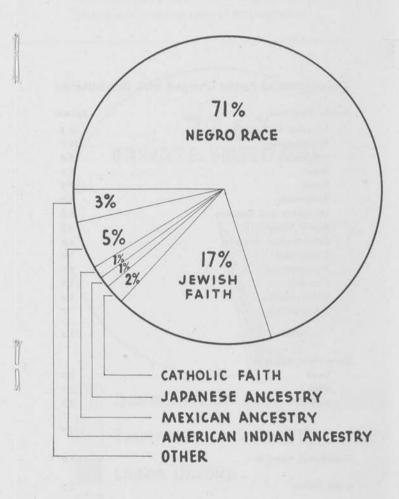
30% No discrimination found

15% Tabled for further evidence

6% Commission lacked jurisdiction

8% Still in process

# Breakdown of cases



# **Employment areas covered**

The FEPC has found that the adjustment of a single case has often improved the employment patterns in an entire industry or type of employment.

# Classification of Parties Charged With Discrimination

Private Employers P	ercent
Insurance and Finance	11.4
Manufacturing	10.7
Wholesale	8.6
Retail	7.9
Hotels	7.9
Restaurants	5.8
Launderers and Cleaners	5.0
Beauty Shops	4.4
Other Service Industries	4.4
Construction	3.6
Transportation	2.9
Hospitals	2.9
Communication	1.4
Public Utilities	.7
Total	77.6
Government Agencies	
Local	7.9
State	2.9
Federal	2.9
Total	13.7
Employment Agencies	5.8
Labor Unions	2.2
Labor Onions	2.2
Investigating Agencies	.7
GRAND TOTAL	100.0

77.6% PRIVATE EMPLOYERS		
GOVERNMENT AGEN	cies 13.7%	
EMPLOYMENT AGEN	CIES 5.8%	
LABOR UNIONS	2.2%	
INVEST. AGENCY	0.7%	

# **Achievements**

Since the Commission began its work, there has been a gradual but marked improvement in employment patterns in Minneapolis. This progress has been the joint product of the work of the FEPC and of the Urban League, Jewish Council, United Labor Committee for Human Rights, Japanese-American Center, U. S. Indian Bureau Placement Service, NAACP, Joint Committee for Employment Opportunity, and other agencies working for EMPLOYMENT ON MERIT. The following are examples of results achieved.

## BEFORE FEPC

# AFTER FEPC

No Negro teachers or administrators employed in the public schools.

NOW there are four Negro teachers, one Negro psychologist and numerous Negro clerical workers in the public schools. Also for two years a Negro educator held one of the top policy positions in the school system.

No Negro sales clerks employed in department stores.

NOW all of the major stores have Negro sales clerks and employ minority workers in many positions.

Few, if any, Jewish or Negro clerical workers employed by insurance or other financial institutions. NOW a number of these concerns have begun to hire both Jewish and Negro workers in office and clerical positions. Most Negroes dismissed from industrial concerns after last war because of low seniority rating. NOW they have been rehired in accordance with their skills as demand for labor has increased.

Widespread discrimination by employment agencies on the basis of religious faith. NOW questions on religion have been removed from application forms and discrimination on this ground largely eliminated.

Stated policy of non-discrimination by labor unions sometimes not carried out in practice.

NOW service by unions to minority group members has been improved. Several unions have admitted Negro members for the first time.

Employment patterns already favorable for workers of Japanese ancestry who had been successfully integrated into many business organizations by the Resettlement Committee. NOW progress in employment of workers of Japanese ancestry has been strengthened and expanded, with integration into new skilled vocations.

Workers of American-Indian ancestry largely excluded from skilled employment. NOW workers of American-Indian ancestry are using vocational training opportunities and are being employed in skilled work in building trades, manufacturing concerns, hospital work, the nursing profession, service and financial institutions.

# **Future plans**

The Commission recognizes the fact that a substantial number of employers have not yet been reached by either its conciliation conferences or its educational program. The Commission plans to expand its program of holding informal conferences with employers, apart from any complaints of discrimination. The Commission also plans to schedule discussions of its operating experience with business, labor and civic groups concerned with employment policies.

# City of Minneapolis

# FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

# **COMMISSION MEMBERS**

Chairman AMOS S. DEINARD

RAYMOND W. CANNON

HOWARD F. FORTIER

C. WILLIAM SYKORA

ABBOTT WASHBURN

Executive
Director WILFRED C. LELAND, JR.

407-A Minneapolis City Hall, Minneapolis 15, Minnesota
Telephone: Lincoln 1803



City of Minneapolis

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

Mrs. John W. Gruner

# STATE-WIDE CITIZEN SUPPORT

FOR

# PROPOSED STATE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE BILL

# ORGANIZATIONAL ENDORSEMENTS RECEIVED TO DATE

February 24, 1951

Republican Party of Minnesota P. Kenneth Peterson, Chairman Logislative Sub-Committee

Republican State Central Com. William F. Randall, Chairman

Minnesota Young Republican League Julie Villaume, Chairwoman

Mrs. Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party of Munn Mrs. Dorothy Jacobson, Chairwoman Karl Rolvaag, Chairman

William Shovel, Chairman Marie Swenson, Chairwoman

Governor's Interracial Commission Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, Chairman

St. Paul Council of Human Relations James Oppenheimer, Chairman

Minneapolis Mayor's Council on Human Relations, Rev. Daisuke Kitagawa, Chairman

Duluth I. terracial Council Gerald Heaney, Chairman

American Lagion, Dept. of Minnesota 61,000 members, Ben Peery, Rep.

State Council, American Veterans Com. Charles Gendreau, State President 900 members

League of Women Voters of Minnesota Ars. Malcolm Hargreaves, State Pres. 44 Branches, 3400 members

Legislative Cormittee, Minnesota Council of Churches, 1500 Churches Rev. Wilbur Grose, Chairman

Minn. State Federation of Labor (AFL) Frank Marzitelli, Representative 600 local unions, 125,000 members

State Industrial Union Council (CIO) Edward V. Donahue, Representative 122 local unions, 51,000 members

Minnesota Farmers Union Edwin Christianson, President Gulley, Minn.; 60,000 members

United Labor Committee for Human Rights Hubert A. Schon, Director

Minn. United Nations Association York Langton, President, 15,000 members

Minnesota Jewish Council Samuel L. Scheiner, Director 35,000 members Minneapolis Urban League John G. Simmons, President 900 members

St. Paul Urban League S. Vincent Owens, Director

Minn. Congregational Conference, Social Action Committee, Dr. Hugo Thompson, Chairman, 170 churches 35,807 members

Brecutive Cormittee, St. Paul Council of P.T.A., Mrs. Fred Paul

United Citizens League, Yukio Okamoto, Chairman

Committee on Racial Equality
Harriet Lane, Mational President

Minn. State Council, Momen's Int'l League, Mrs. Stewart Graves, Chrm.

Minn. State Conference, N.A.A.C.P., Ashby Gaskins, President, 4 chapters, 2100 members

American Scandinavian Women's Club, Mrs. F. R.Olson, President

Y.W.C.A. of Minneapolis Norma Stauffer, Director

Stud. University of Minnesota, Y.W.C.A.,
Margaret Van Hoesen, Director
Stud University Student Council of Religion

Mrs. Patricia Pomeroy, Rep.

Stur Macalester College Christian Assoc.,

Jessica Page, President

Studst. The as College Student Assoc.

Sau Carleton College Student Association Anthony Downs, President

Hinnesota Jewish ar Veterans Ben Belfer, Commander, 5 posts, 2500 members

Nat'l Conference of Jewish Women Mrs. Stanley Zack, Legis. Chairman 7 chapters, 2600 members in Minn.

Minnesota Rabbinical Association Rabbi . Gunther Plaut, Rep.

Elks Civil Liberties League

C. R. Mendosa, Chairman
Northwest Region of Hadassah
Mrs. I. C. Mark, President
6 chapters, 4500 members in Minn.

Japanese-American Community Center James Takata, President

American Indians, Incorporated Melvin Bisson, President numerolo

Minneapolis Council of Church Lomen Rewey Belle Inglis, Representative

Minn. State Council, Americans for Democratic Action

Frank Paskewitz, President

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai E'rith Monroe Schlactus, Regional Consultant

Mt. Zion Sisterhood, St. Paul

Mrs. Fremland, President, 380 members Womens League, Temple of Aaron, St. Paul

Frs. Joseph eizman, President 385 members

St. Faul Hadassah, Ers. F. Friedman Representative, 1100 members

Ramsey County DPI, Jonen's Study Group

Mrs. G. Theodore Mitau, Representative Women's Council, Hallie Q. Brown St. Paul

Minneapolis Chapter of Hadassah Irs. Partin Lebedoff, President

Goodwill Industries

St. Paul omen's Auxiliary Mrs. C. A. J. Abbott, President Delta Phi Omega Chapter, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, St. Paul and Minneapolis, Mrs. Percia Hutcherson Representative

Gamma Xi Lambda Chapter, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Charles F. Rogers, Representative

Pilgrim Baptist Church, cf St. Farl Rev. Floyd Massey, Jr.

Tayman A.M.E. Church, Linneapolis Rev. Tendell M. Johnson

Holsey Memorial C.M.E. Church Minneapolis, Rev. Paul Lewis

Twin City Japanese Christian Church Rev. Daisuke Kitagawa

Twin City Buddhist Association Sus Hirota

Social Action Committee

Pirst Universalist Church Harold Lilson, Representative

Joint Logislative Committee Minnesota Welfare Conference Fred Thomas, Chairman

nim blate Congress of mys. Vocational guidous Ingle . I Chamber of Com lege arganing U.S. Bur. Judian affairs
Mat I. Student Ossoc. Stevenson Fareum Committee
St. Coth, Callege Branch Sterling Class ST, Paul Callege arganiz main Campus JM + YW

1. L. PERETZ Center Jewith Wall Worker alliances

Wesley Towndation
Tri-14Student Voters Union 48/19.

-2-

## EUSINESS AND CIVIC LEADERS .HO SUPPORT

## THE

## PROPOSED STATE MAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE BILL

(Dusiness and organizational connections are listed for purposes of identification only)

Governor Luther H. Youngdahl Senator Edward Thye

Senator Hubert II. Humphrey

Julius Barnes, Duluth; President, Barnes Shipbuilding Co., Former President of U. S. Chamber of Commerce

Judge Edward F. Taite, Minneapolis
Retired Judge Hennepin County
Fistrict Court, Member Mpls. Council
on Human Relations

Martin Hughes, Hibbing, Attorney and civic leader

Mrs. Mabeth Furd Paigs, Minneapolis, Civic leader and former state legislator

Rev. Clifford Ansgar Melson, St. Paul, Pastor, Gloria Dei Lutheran Church, former President Minnesota Council of Churches

Bradshaw Lintener, Vice-President and General Counsel, Pillsbury Mills, former chairman, Linnesota Methodist Conference

Amos S. Deinard, Ainmeanolis; Leonard, Street, and Deinard; Chairman, City of Minneapolis, Fair Employment Practice Commission

George M. Jensen, inneapolis; Vice-President, The Maico Co., Chairman, Minn. Council for FEPC

Harry A. Tullis, Minneapolis; Chairman of the Toard, General Mills, Inc.

Donald C. Dayton, Aimeapolis; President and General Anager, the Dayton Co.

D. ". Onan, linneapolis; Chairman of the Foard, D. ". Onan and Sons, Inc.

Stuart . Leck, \*inneapolis; Fresident James Leck Co., Builders; former member, Epls. Layor's Council on Human Relations

Powers Pry Goods Company, Inc.

Lloyd Hale, ...inneapolis; President, G. H. Tennant Co., Chairman, Mpls. Industrial Lanpower Committee Mrs. F. Peavey Heffelfinger, Mayzata; Republican Mational Committeewoman from Minnesota

Mrs. Ione Hunt, Montevideo; Democratic Mational Committeewoman from Minmesota

Jack Butwin, St. Paul; President, Butwin Sportswear, Inc.

York Langton, Minneapolis; Trade
Extension Manager, Coast-to-Coast
Stores; President, Minnesota
United Nations Association

Campbell W. Elliott, Hopkins; Vice-President in Charge of Industrial Relations, Minneapolis-Holine Power Implement Company

Meyer Dorfman, St. Paul; President, Colonial Felt Mills, Inc.

Rev. Reuben K. Youngdahl, hinneapolis; Pastor, Mt. Olivet Lutheran Church Former Chairman, Lpls. Fayor's Council on Human Relations

Arthur Randall, Minneapolis; Vice-President in Charge of Personnel, ". W. Chan and Sons, Inc.

Robert Olson, resident, Minnesota State Federation of Labor

Rodney Jacobson, Golden Valley; Sec.-Treas., State Industrial Union Council, CIO

Erwin Creck, Duluth; President, Oreck's Department Store; member of executive board, Duluth Interracial Council

Rev. Arthur Foote, St. Paul; Pastor, Unity Church; former chairman, St. Paul Council of Human Relations

Ers. Philip Lush, Mound; Chairman, Civil Rights Committee, State League of Tomen Voters

Rev. Carl Storm, Minneapolis; Pastor First Unitarian Society

Vice-Chairman, St. Paul; Attorney, Vice-Chairman, St. Paul Council of Human Relations Rev. Carl Olson, Minneapolis; Pastor, First Universalist Church; Chairman, Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority

N. C. Kearney, St. Poul; Assistant Superintendent of Schools in Charge of

Research and Curriculum

C. William Sykora, Minneapolis; formerly chairman, Civil Affairs Committee, Mpls. Junior Chamber of Commerce

Frank Marzitelli, St. Paul; Commissioner of Education, City of St. Paul

Howard F. Portier, Minneapolis; Local 974, Warehouseman's Union, Teamsters Joint Council

Raymond W. Cannon, Minneapolis; Attorney, Vice-Chairman, Mpls. Mayor's Council on Human Relations

W. Gunther Plaut, Rabbi, Mt. Zion Temple, St. Paul

Mrs. Harold E. Wood, St. Paul; Civic leader, former chairman Women's Institute, St. Paul; Board Member, St. Paul Urban League

Charles Wegner, St. Paul; Director, Goodwill Industries, St. Paul

Rev. Max Karl, St. Paul; Pastor, Goodrich Avenue Presbyterian Church, St. Paul Mrs. Rosser H. Matson, St. Paul; Chairwoman, Committee on Citizen Support for the Minn. Council for FEPC; Former President, St. Paul Inter-Club Council; Chmn, Speakers' Bureau, Minnesota U.N. Association

Abbott Washburn, Minneapolis; Public Services Director, General Mills,

Inc.

Dr. Hurst Anderson, St. Paul; President, Hamline University

Dr. Lawrence M. Gould, Northfield; President, Carleton College

Dr. Charles Turck, St. Paul; President, Macalester College

Very Reverend Vincent S. Flynn, President, St. Thomas College

Herman Cohen, Rabbi, Temple of Aaron, St. Paul

Mrs. Edward Perlman, St. Paul; President, St. Paul Association of Jewish Women's Organizations

Louis Goldstein, St. Paul; Director, Jewish Community Center

I. E. Simon, President, Simon and Mogilner Company, St. Paul

S. S. Grais, President, Gray's Drug Stores, Inc., St. Paul

March 3, 1951

Dear Member of the Legislature:

We wish to make a few comments in answer to the statement sent you on Feb. 26th by Mr. Otto Christenson, Executive Vice President of the Minnesota Employers Association regarding the proposed Fair Employment Practices Bill. SF 69. HF 74.

Ar. Christenson says this bill means that an employer may not ask for the picture of an applicant. This is true. However, no employer hires without a personal interview. This will reveal everything that a photograph will. An applicant who is otherwise qualified should be given an opportunity to sell himself in an interview, and should not be screened out in advance by his appearance on a photograph. A photograph may be obtained after employment and filed for identification purposes.

Mr. Christenson says this bill means that an employer may not ask a prospective employee such questions as would reveal his race, religion, or national origin. This is true, provided these questions do not pertain to a bona fide occupational qualification for the job. If they do, the questions may be asked.

Mr. Christenson says this bill means that a prospective employer is not allowed to ask where the amlicant went to school. This is not true. He may inquire into the academic, vocational, or professional education of an applicant and the public and private schools he has attended.

Mr. Christenson says this bill means that employers, who in these days are making items that are used in the defense of their country, and who would like to know something of the background of their amplicants, are not allowed to get this information, and he implies that the security of our country is threatened. This is not true. If you will look at Mr. Christenson's letter, where he quoted from the bill, Section 5, Subsec. 7, Paragraph (a), you will notice after the word "religion," three dots which indicate an omission. You will be interested to know what the omission is: "except when required by the United States, this state or a political subdivision or agency of the United States or this state, for the purpose purpose of national security." This phrase should ensuer an employers' worries about his country's security. Furthermore, in answer to kr. Christenson's other points about the place of birth, citizenship, etc., of amplicants, it is possible under the bill to ask if he is a citizen, or intends to become a citizen, or if not a citizen, if he has a legal right to remain in the United States, whether his parents or spouse are citizens, and questions about his service in the U. S. armed services.

We hope you will keep these facts in mind as you peruse the arguments for and against the bill, and we in the Minnesota League of Women Voters hope that you will vigorously support this fine piece of legislation.

Sincerely.

Mrs. H. H. Livingston State Legislative Chairman

1951 ?

## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

## 84 SOUTH TENTH STREET, ROOM 417 MINNEAPOLIS 2, MINNESOTA

Atlantic 0941

The League of Women Voters Of Minnesota is in favor of the FEPC bill as proposed.

The present bill has been carefully prepared by the Law students at the University of Minnesota and checked thoroughly by the Minnesota Council tor FEPC, which drew on the experience of other states with such a law, and finally was rechecked and revised on the advice of the authors of the bill; Mr. Peterson, Mr. Langley, Mr. Chilgren, Mr. Oberg and Mr. Dirlam. Therefore it seems to us that the bill comes highly recommended.

The need for such a bill in Minnesota is evident, we believe, for several reasons.

From the point of view of the thousands of members of racial and religious minority groups in Minnesota, it is important to have legislation which will protect their right of employment, especially since every one of these citizens is also required to pay taxes and bear arms for his country.

Therefore, this legislation will benefit the minority groups.

From the point of view of employers, it is important that all sources of qualified labor be available, especially with the greatly increased production which will be required of them in the national emergency.

Therefore, this legislation will benefit the employers.

From the point of view of United States leadership in the world today, it is most important that we practice what we preach to other countries, else the denunciations of the Communists that we don't allow our minorities the privileges of democracy, will have a strong ring of truth.

Therefore, this legislation will benefit our country.

The experience with FEPC in the ten states that have such laws has been good.

For example, in the hundreds of cases that have been heard in these states, only three have gone to the stage of a public hearing, and only one has gone beyond that to the district court.

In Minneapelis, in its  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years under FEPC, no public hearings have been held and no court enforcement has been necessary. And yet in this period there have been 139 complaints of discrimination which have been settled by the commission.

30% decided in favor of employer (no discrimination)

41% favorably settled

6% dismissed (not covered by law)

15% not determined whether discrimination exists

8% still in process of adjustment

owever, the number of cases dealt with by the FEPC is really
no accurate measure of the effect of such a law, for adjustment

Affiliated wittoffe one individual complaint often leads to elimination of discrimindatory practices throughout an industry. The Commission has found that provisions for enforcement are essential to obtain serious consideration of the problem.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota 84 South Tenth Street, Room 406 Minneapolis 2, Minnesota

## TIMESOTA STATE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES BILL

Answers to Points Raised by Opponents

FILE COPY

# 1. Fair Employment Practice Commissions harass employers and stir up false charges of discrimination.

Experience in the administration of regulations against discrimination in employment has shown that the commissions protect employers against unfounded charges of discrimination. The records show that, in over 20 per cent of the cases in Minneapolis and nearly 25 per cent in New York state, the result of investigation has enabled the commission to assure the complainant that no discrimination had been practiced.

It has been the experience of the commissions that the persons who have brought the complaints have generally accepted the findings of the commissions as correct and have been glad to be informed that no discrimination had been practiced. Both the complainants and the parties charged agree that it has been of great value to them to have an impartial agency investigate complaints and clear the sir of suspicions and misunderstandings. Thus, the commissions have operated to ease tensions and to build improved relations between the members of different racial, religious, and nationality groups.

2. The relatively small number of complaints presented to the commissions indicates that there is no need for these agencies and that they serve no useful purpose.

The number of cases dealt with by the commissions is no measure of the value of this legislation or the effectiveness of the commissions' work. It is not violation but compliance with the law that is the measure of its value. There is no question that this legislation has led to major changes in employment policy by a great number of employers and unions which have never been involved in complaints of discrimination brought before the commissions.

Furthermore, the satisfactory adjustment of a single case often has a far-reaching effect on employment opportunities. For example, the first case brought before the Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice Commission was against a major Minneapolis department store. The satisfactory adjustment of this complaint initiated a series of events which ultimately led to the opening up of employment opportunities which had formerly been closed to minority workers in all the major department stores in the city and at all levels of training and skills.

3. The objectives of the legislation can be better achieved by setting up educational agencies without enforcement powers.

The enforcement provisions are essential to persuade employers and union officials to give serious attention to the need for changing discriminatory policies. The experience of the professional organizations working on problems of discrimination in employment has been that a significant

proportion of employers and union leaders simply refuse to give serious consideration to changing discriminatory employment or membership policies in the absence of legislation with enforcement powers. However, when they do direct their attention to this problem, as a result of the passage of legislation and the work of the commissions, they become convinced that non-discrimination is sound personnel practice and sound union policy.

4. Changes in attitudes of prejudice and practices of discrimination can be accomplished only through education and not through compulsion.

There is no conflict between the proposed legislation and a program of education. This legislation provides for the use of every effective educational device.

The kind of education that changes attitudes of prejudice is that which comes about when, on a normal, everyday basis, workers come to know the members of other racial, religious, and nationality groups who are like themselves in terms of education, training, and skill. It is this kind of education that is accomplished by fair employment practice legislation and this is the process through which good human relations will be established among all of the peoples of America and the world.

5. The proposed logislation would confer special benefits on the members of minority groups and would give them preference over other workers.

This legislation confers no special benefit or grants no special privilege to the members of minority groups. It simply puts them on the same basis as any other workers in being considered for employment on the basis of their skills. The commissions have held that any quota system is discriminatory and may work an injustice to members of either the majority or minority groups.

6. This logislation would require employers to hire workers that they do not want and who might injure the employer's business.

The fair employment practice laws do not require an employer to hire any workers from minority racial, religious, or nationality groups. They simply prohibit excluding workers from consideration because of the factors of race, religion, national origin or ancestry. In effect, they say that these factors have nothing to do with ability to do the job and that the employer should pay no attention to them, one way or the other.

7. There is no evidence that fair employment practice commissions have actually been effective in solving problems of discrimination.

Fair Employment Practice Commissions in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and in the City of Minneapolis have gradually increased the opportunities open to minority group workers and have improved the utilization by industries of their highest skills. No census and no broad survey of employment patterns has been made in any of the areas covered by fair employment practice legislation since the laws were passed. Therefore, no overall statistics are available to demonstrate

the changes in employment patterns. Furthermore, even when these patterns are measured by the census, it must be recognized that many factors in addition to fair employment practice legislation will have influenced whatever changes may be revealed.

Mevertheless, there is ample evidence that the passage of the fair employment laws has been of major importance in breaking down barriers to the employment of minority group workers. The policy of the commissions to work on cases quietly and without public hearings has prevented the effectiveness of their work from becoming generally known. Employment opportunities in retail and wholesale trade in manufacturing and in office and clerical jobs have been significantly expanded for minority workers by voluntary changes in policy by a great number of important employers, entirely apart from any specific complaints of discrimination handled by the commissions.

The most important effect of the passage of this legislation and the establishment of the commissions has been to focus the attention of the major employers in the areas covered on their employment practices in regard to the members of different recial, religious, and nationality groups. The clear statement of a public policy of non-discrimination in employment, and the establishment of the commissions with enforcement powers, have proved to be powerful instruments with which to evercome the ignorance and apothy which have been the principal barriers to the employment of qualified minority workers.

# 8. An employer's business may be injured by hiring minority group workers because customers will be driven away.

In answer to this point, reference may be made to a booklet entitled How to Apply Cooperative Employment Practices published by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce and dated January, 1949. In a foreword to this pamphlet signed by Elmer L. Lindseth, President, he states, "This booklet has been prepared by a special subcommittee composed of personnel men who have worked closely with this particular problem." Under the heading uncertainty about customer reaction, the pamphlet states, "Experience in other cities demonstrates that this apprehension is not well-founded. Customer reaction to employment of minority group members has been generally favorable and there has been no noticeable decline in business."

# 9. Employees will not be willing to work with the members of minority groups and this will cause difficulties for the employer and will injure his business.

It has been the experience of all employers who have hired minority workers that such problems are rare and can be readily solved. Furthermore, the law gives employers the opportunity to shift to the State Government the burden of meeting whatever opposition may present itself against a policy of non-discrimination in employment.

10. In regard to specific points which may be made under the heading of employee objections, the following effective answers are given from the publication of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce referred to above.

#### Common Objections are:

- (a) a feeling that the introduction of members of minority groups will result in a degrading of the job.
  - --- A company statement that there will be no change in the standards of the jobs and positions will allay this fear.
- (b) fear of health standards.
  - ---Apprehensions on this score fade when inquirers are reminded of the pre-employment physical examination which is used for all employees.
- (c) how to explain to relatives and personal friends the fact of mixed employment.
  - --- This factor is largely theoretical and has been found to disappear in a short time as minority group employees are not a nevelty and have come to be recognized, through school and civic associations, as individuals.
- (d) use of the same sanitary and eating facilities.
  - ---Experience of the employers who have integrated such employees indicates that this apprehension about the use of the same facilities is imaginative rather than real. This is especially true where other employees know that high standards of health and sanitation apply to all.
- (e) possible complications at office social events.
  - ---Experience has shown that untoward incidents at social affairs attended only by employees rarely developed. Common sense rules for conducting more elaborate semi-public functions are well known. Furthermore, the new group can be given their share of the responsibility for using good judgment in cooperating in these matters.
- 11. The question is raised as to why the law, as drawn, should cover only employers of twenty or more employees.

The question is one of effective administration. It is thought that the limited funds and staff of the commission would be used to better advantage if they concentrate on working with the larger employers. These employers establish employment policies which tend to be followed by smaller employers. Of the 47,000 employers of the state (reported by the State Unemployment Compensation Commission), about 8,000 employ

20 or more workers. However, these larger employers employ 443,000 out of the total of 643,000 workers in industrial employment in the state. Therefore, by covering approximately 17% of the employers, the commission would cover approximately 69% of the total workers.

If the law's coverage should be extended to include the employers of six or more, that would bring in an additional 12,000 employers and an additional 134,000 workers. In this case, the law would cover 43% of employers and approximately 90% of industrial workers. It is believed that a considerable increase in the commission's budget might be required to enable it to cover this additional group.

Prepared by: Wilfred C. Leland, Jr., Executive Director
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## MINNESOTA COUNCIL FOR FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE

# SUGGESTIONS FOR CHANGES IN MINNESOTA FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE BILL PROPOSED FOR 1951

The Executive Board of the Minnesota Council for Fair Employment Practice sent its proposed bill for comment to a number of national organizations which have made extensive studies of state fair employment practice bills and have developed suggestions based upon the actual experience of the operating commissions in other states.

A. Philip Randolph of the National Council for A Permanent FEPC and Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People passed on their suggestions to Will Maslow, Director of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress. Mr. Maslow's letter combines the recommendations of these three organizations. His comments will be identified by the letter M in the following summary.

The American Jewish Committee provided a letter from a member of their legal staff, Theodore Leskes, and a brief on the Connecticut FEPC case by Milton Nahum. Suggestions included in these documents will be identified by the letters AJC in the summary. The Anti-Defamation League of Bonai Borith assigned the bill for comment to Sol Rabkin of their legal staff. His comments are identified by the letters ADL in the summary.

We will quote or summarize the comments as we go through the bill section by section:

## Title

AJC: Recommends changing the word <u>creed</u> to <u>religion</u> in the title and throughout the bill.

#### Section 1

M; Change "policy of this state is to foster" to "policy of this state is hereby reaffirmed to be to foster".

ADL: "Section 1 would be made to have much greater impact if language were added to it declaring that the opportunity to be employed without discrimination is recognized and declared to be a civil right of every inhabitant of the State of Minnesota."

## Section 3 Subdivision 4

M: "I think you are exempting too many employers. The numerical limitation should not be more than 10 at the very outside."

AJC: "I should prefer that number to be reduced to five or six or more individuals. This is not, however, a vital point and if political reasons motivated the selection of 'twenty-five or more' great weight should be given to the decision of your local group."

2

## Section 3 Subdivision 6

M: "Insert 'regularly' after the word 'person'".

#### Section 3 Added Definition

ADL: "If subdivision 2 of Section 6 remainst unchanged, it might be desirable to define what is meant by 'voluntary agencies' in the section on definitions."

#### Section 4

ADL: "In defining unlawful employment practice, section 4 opens by excepting bona fide occupational qualifications based on race, creed, color and national origin. We suggest that it would be desirable, to prevent possible misuse of this exception, that it be limited by requiring that such occupational qualifications first be certified by the Commission. This can be done by adding after the word 'qualification' in the second line of the section the words 'duly certified as such by the Commission'. Incidentally, we note that subsection 7 of section 4 does contain a requirement that such qualifications be certified by the Commission. We can see no reason why the same limitation should not be included in the opening sentence of section 4."

#### Section 4 Subdivision 7

ACL: Suggests changing "certified by the Commission" to "duly certified as such by the Commission".

#### Section 5

"I think you have done a superb job in drafting your Minnesota FEPC bill. The only serious objection I have is the division of responsibility between the administrative commission and the quasi-judicial discrimination review board. This is an impossible situation. Witness current friction between Denham, the autonomous general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board and the board itself. There is no reason why you should split the functions of the enforcement agency and make this sharp division between the settlement efforts and the adjudication efforts, That has not been a major objection to FEPC laws and the experience in the various states indicates that existing agencies manage very well to separate their prosecuting from their judicial functions." "It seems to me that the plan of the bill to establish a 'board' to conduct hearings and a 'commission' to conduct investigations, negotiations, and enforcement procedures, is carrying the separation of enforcement from judicial functions a little too far. I doubt the need for two agencies in light of the experience of the federal government and numerous state governments with administrative agencies that conduct both enforcement and judicial proceedings. It would seem to me that the plan of the New York statute whereby any commissioner who conducts the investigation is prohibited from being a member of the hearing panel, is adequate separation of the two functions. The same is true of the numerous federal administrative agencies which conduct these functions. Is it believed locally that having a board and a commission will make more probable the

passage of the law since it can now be attacked as setting up numerous commissions instead of one commission of three or five per diem members?"

M:

AJC:

## Section 5 Subdivision 1

'It is suggested that the word 'shall' be added between the words 'Board' ADL: and 'each' in the third line."

## Section 6 Subdivision 1 Paragraph (5)

"We note that both Section 6 and Section 7 authorize the Commission and ADL: Board to 'adopt and promulgate suitable rules and regulations to carry out the purposes' of the act. Might this not give rise to conflicting rules? It would seem to us that it would be better to authorize each of the two agencies to adopt and promulgate suitable rules and regulations to govern the handling of matters under its jurisdiction. This would allow each of the two agencies to set up rules and regulations for matters under consideration by it and would prevent the possibility of either of the agencies promulgating rules and regulations which would govern procedures before the other agency."

. . . should be amended to read as follows: 'Adopt and promulgate suitable rules and regulations, except with respect to the hearing procedures before the board, to carry out the purposes of this act; . "

## Section 5 Subdivision 1 Paragraph (6)

"Paragraph (6) of subdivision 1 authorizes the Commission, in addition to ADL: receiving and investigating complaints, to 'pass upon' them. This, too might possibly be interpreted as creating a conflict of jurisdiction between the Commission and the Board. According to Section 8 the Board, after hearing, has the final authority to determine whether the complaint is well-founded or not. On the other hand, the Commission certainly must have the power to determine whether the complaint has probable cause in connection with its investigation thereof. We suggest that the somewhat ambiguous phrase 'pass upon' in paragraph (6) be changed possibly to read 'determine if there is probable cause for'. Such language would be consistent with subdivision 3 of section 8. In addition, it might be desirable to add to subdivision 1 of section 6 a provision authorizing the Commission to dismiss a complaint if it finds that probable cause does not exist for crediting the allegations in the complaint. Such a dismissal should, however, be made subject to court review, should the complainant so desire."

## Section 6 Subdivision 2

"Subdivision 2 of section 6 raises two possible additional problems. ADL: First, we suggest that the subdivision should authorize the Commission to create advisory agencies and conciliation councils such as are created under section 3, paragraph (8) of the New York FEPC law. This might be desirable rather than limiting the Commission to use of 'voluntary agencies' . . . . . The second question raised is whether or not the act should contain a provision similar to that contained in the Rhode Island law permitting organizations chartered for the purpose of combatting discrimination or racism or of promoting the fullest possible free and equal employment opportunities to file complaints under the Act. . . . . . . . Another way in which the fight to file complaints may be expanded is to add to subdivision 1 of section 8 language authorizing the attorney general of the state and the industrial commissioner to file complaints under the Act. New York, Massachusetts, and several other states have such provisions in their FEPC laws."

AJC:

## Section 7 Subdivision 1 Paragraph (4)

(See comment under Section 6 subdivision 1 paragraph (5) above) ADL: " . . . should be amended to read as follows: 'Adopt and promulgate AJC: suitable rules and regulations to carry out the purposes described in Section 8, subdivisions 4 and 5 of this act; ."

#### Section 8 Subdivision 1

(See comment under Section 6 Subdivision 2 above suggesting that state ADL: and private agencies be specifically authorized to file complaints.) "We note that subdivision 1 of Section 8 provides that a complaint must ADL: be filed within ninety days after the alleged act of discrimination. This brief period of limitation appears in the New York and New Jersey laws, the first FEPC laws enacted. Later laws of this type fixed a longer period of limitation. Massachusetts, Connecticut and Washington allow six menths after the act of discrimination for filing the complaint, and Rhode Island allows one year. It may frequently be the case that several months elapse before an unsucessful applicant for employment discovers that he was rejected because of race, religion, or national origin. We believe that the Rhode Island example is the one that should be followed." "The 90-day statute of limitation borrowed from New York is entirely too M: short. It should at least be six months and preferably one year."

#### Section 8 Subdivision 3

" . . . should be amended to read, at the end of the clause ' ... al-AJC: though they may disclose the results of their efforts to eliminate the discrimination by conference, conciliation and persuasion." "After 'endeavors' add 'provided that the Commission may publish the de-M: tails of any complaint which has been dismissed and the terms of conciliation when the complaint has been satisfactorily adjusted'. This proviso is based upon the comparable one in the Massachusetts FEPC law."

## Section 8 Subdivision 5

"The board should be expressly authorized to issue orders to hire, pay AJC: wages, or otherwise make whole the complainant. There is currently pending a challenge to the Connecticut Interracial Commission because, under its power to issue cease and desist orders, it ordered the hiring of the complainant. (b) The last sentence is unnecessary and repetitious in light of the correction which I have suggested in Section 7 (1) (4)." Brief submitted jointly with the Anti-Defamation League also suggests the AJC: desirability of specifying the powers of the Commission to issue positive orders to correct discriminatory practices.

"Our final suggestion arises from the fact that the bill contains no penal ADL: provisions such as are contained in the laws of New York, New Jersey, New Mexico, Massachusetts, Washington and Oregon. We believe that the ideal FEPC bill should contain penal provisions which may be invoked in cases of wilful disobedience of any order of the Board, or in the case of wilful obstruction of officers of the Board or the Commission engaged in carrying out their duties under the Act."

## Sections 12 and 13

"Two additional clauses should be added to the bill: (a) A separability AJC: clause and (b) a clause describing the legislative intention to have the act construed liberally to effectuate the purposes set forth."

GROVER C. GEORGE COMMITTEES AGRICULTURE
DAIRY PRODUCTS AND LIVESTOCK
DRAINAGE SENATOR 19TH DISTRICT GOODHUE COUNTY DRAINAGE
PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND BUILDINGS
PUBLIC WELFARE
TAXES AND TAX LAWS
TOWNS AND COUNTIES
WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION GOODHUE, MINNESOTA State of Minnesota 14) SENATE April 7, 1951 Mrs. R. F. Hedin 1161 Oak Street Red Wing, Minnesota Dear Mrs. Hedin: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter regarding the FEPC bill. As you no doubt have seen by the papers, this bill has been quite badly treated in the Judiciary Committee. Such action is pretty rough on the sponsors, who would like to have such legislation decided by the whole membership. I cannot promise that I will vote for the bill if it does get to the chamber, as we have a lot of people in our county who are very much opposed to this legislation, not in principle, but from an employer's and business standpoint. I am sorry to disappoint you in this matter, but I thank you for writing me. Yours sincerely, Grover le George Grover C. George GCG/sm 100 ge 2 1

GROVER C. GEORGE SENATOR 19TH DISTRICT GOODHUE COUNTY GOODHUE, MINNESOTA 14



State of Minnesota SENATE April 14, 1951

COMMITTEES

AGRICULTURE
DAIRY PRODUCTS AND LIVESTOCK
DRAINAGE
PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND BUILDINGS
PUBLIC WELFARE
TAXES AND TAX LAWS
TOWNS AND COUNTIES
WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Mrs. Frank G. Chesley Tower View Red Wing, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Chesley:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter with reference to the fair employment practice bill. This bill has encountered lots of difficulty in the Senate. It was practically defeated in the committee, once it came out on the floor, and it was in such shape that the proponents did not want it. They asked for a chance to send it back to the Judiciary Committee to try to get it in shape to present it once more.

I helped them get it back into committee, but I understand now that it is lost for this session. I could not have promised you to vote for the bill even though I had helped to send it back for correction as there is a lot of opposition in our town, especially from the businessmen and manufacturers.

Thanks for your letter.

Sincerely,

GROVER C. GEORGE

Senator, 19th District

Groves le. George

GCG: vdr

FILE COPY

## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

#### 84 SOUTH TENTH STREET, ROOM 406 MINNEAPOLIS 3, MINNESOTA

Atlantic 0941

November 27, 1951

To: Civil Rights Chairman

From: Mrs. K. K. McMillan, President

Here is your kit of material on the Civil Rights item: "The League will work for a greater understanding of civil rights in Minnesota and for legislation to correct discrimination." It divides roughly into two parts:

1. Action on FEPC. Emphasis is on building public opinion in favor of a Minnesota Fair Employment Practices Law. Enclosed is a sheet of Voters Service suggestions for this purpose. Your Voters Service Chairman and Public Relations Chairman will want to cooperate with you on this.

You and employers and employees in your community may be interested in the following fact about fair employment practices:

On February 2, 1951, the President issued Executive Order No. 10210, relating to procedures to be followed in making defense contracts for war materials needed in Korea. This order includes the following statement:

"There should be no discrimination in any act performed hereunder against any person on the ground of race, creed, color or national origin, and all contracts hereunder shall contain a provision that the contractor and any sub-contractor hereunder shall not so discriminate."

This requirement of a non-discrimination clause in all Federal Government contracts and sub-contracts will remain in effect during the present emergency. However, Congress failed to appropriate funds for its enforcement or for an FEP Commission for its administration (as they did in World War II), so whether non-discrimination is the policy or not depends on the procurement agencies, such as army, navy, etc., which have not shown much interest in assuming this responsibility.

2. Study of Migrant and Indian. Study materials are enclosed and the bibliography may be used to broaden your study.

The answer to the question on the effect a state FEP law would have on the Migrant worker is not in your booklet, so is included here:

Mr. Wilfred C. Leland, Jr., Executive Director of the Minneapolis FEPC: "If the law follows the 1951 bill, the employment of workers from outside the United States who come in under Federal Government sanctioned contracts would not be affected by the law. Other migratory workers would be protected by the law, and the Commission's conciliation services would be available to help to integrate them into working forces. Housing would not be covered by the law unless constituting part of the compensation for employment."

An important announcement. If you want to really get to the heart of America's racial problem, if you want the most authoritative current information, if you want to meet some of the leaders, colored and white, from all over the nation, who are making history at this momentous period, you will find it worthwhile to spend 2 weeks at the Institute of Race Relations at Fisk University this coming summer. See enclosed information. Next year's program will be sent you when it is available. Good luck to you in your study. We hope you will find it interesting.

Additional copies - 1¢

#### A PLAN FOR DISCUSSING THE CIVIL RIGHTS ITEM

- 1. Read the item as it is stated in the League Program: "The League will work for a greater understanding of civil rights in Minnesota and for legislation to correct discrimination."
- 2. Review League history on this item
  - a. 1949 convention chose
    - 1) general study of Civil Rights in Minnesota
      - a) Civil Rights in Minnesota, LWV publication
      - b) To Secure These Rights, President's Committee on Civil Rights
      - c) Reports of the Governor's Interracial Commission of Minnesota
    - 2) study of pros and cons of FEPC legislation
      - a) Fair Employment Practices Act, Minnesota Employers' Association
      - b) Minnesota Council for FIP reply to above
  - b. 1950 convention decided to support an FEPC bill
    - 1) Digest of State FEPC Laws L'N publication
    - 2) Proposed Bill
  - c. 1951 convention continued support of FEPC bill and chose to study problems of Indian and migrant worker in Minnesota
  - d. 1952 convention ? ? ? ?
- 3. Explain that as a result of convention decision the League's job today is a. Building public opinion in favor of FFPC legislation
  - 1) As an organization
    - a) See Community Action on Civil Rights (enclosed)
  - 2) As an individual
    - a) Speaking to your neighbor
    - b) Writing to your legislator
    - c) Writing to your editor
  - b. Study of the problems of the Indian and the migrant worker

    If your community has either Indians or migrant workers, your study will be
    more interesting if you add local facts. (The state office would be interested in your findings.)
    - 1) Indian in Minnesota

Use enclosed materials

- a) <u>Legislative Remedies for Problems of Indians in Minnesota</u>, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Minneapolis Area
- b) Discussion Outline on above
- c) Indian Neighbors in Minnesota, Minnesota Council of Churches
- d) Bibliography for further information
- 2) Migrant Worker in Minnesota

Use enclosed materials

- a) Minnesota and Her Migratory Workers, Minn. Council of Churches
- b) Discussion Outline on above
- c) Migrant Workers Find Better World in Minnesota Town, U.S. Dept. of Labor
- d) Bibliography for further information

Remember that discussion has a purpose ---- DECISION!

After discussing these problems, ask your members these questions

- 1. Are these problems which should concern the League of Women Voters?
- 2. What can or should we do?

Your discussion and decision will make the next state Program which will be decided at the 1952 convention.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota 84 South Tenth Street, Room 406 Minneapolis 3. Minnesota

November 27, 1951

Additional copies - 1¢

#### COMMUNITY ACTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

- 1. We, as League members, have studied and are studying Civil Rights in Minnesota.
- 2. We now must spread our knowledge throughout the community.
- 3. All communities in Minnesota differ in size, in population groups, in industry, in the amount of progress which has been made in this field. Therefore, it seems to us that we cannot offer any one bit of advice or help that would be helpful to all local Leagues. Whatever is done must be tailored to each community.
- We offer you then the services of a trained person to help you make plans for the community action which seems best for your particular community at this particular time. That action might be a public meeting with a speaker, a panel, a movie or a filmstrip. If you have plenty of time to work, and if it is possible to get adequate trained supervision, the action might be a community self-survey, a testing of local public facilities to see whether they discriminate, a series of interviews with businessmen in the community on the employment practices of the town, or it might be a combination of these. We do want to emphasize, however, that if such projects are undertaken, they should be very wisely planned, with the help of a person experienced in the human relations field, since these surveys can do as much harm as good if they are done badly.
- 5. Whatever you do should probably be done in cooperation with as many other groups in the town as you can enlist.
- 6. Are you interested? Would you like the help of such a program and action planner? You are not committed to carrying out a plan by such a request, and whatever plan is evolved will, of course, be the result of joint planning of your local League and a trained person.
- 7. If you want the help of such a person, let us know. We will arrange a meeting at your mutual convenience.

Additional copies - 1¢

#### DISCUSSION OUTLINE

for

material published by The Minnesota Council of Churches MINNESOTA AND HER MIGRATORY WORKERS

#### A. INTRODUCTION

- 1. Why are we concerned with the migrant in Minnesota at this time?
- 2. What general areas in Minnesota employ migrants? When?
- B. WHY THEY MIGRATE
  - 1. Is there a real need to employ seasonal labor in Minnesota?
  - 2. Is there a real need for migrants to seek such work?
  - 3. Is migrancy profitable?
- C. THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE MIGRANT WORKER
  - 1. How has the use of machines affected the work that migrants do?
  - 2. How has the cooperation between employers affected their earning power?
  - 3. To what extent are imported workers used? Why hired?
- D. MAJOR SOURCES OF EMPLOYMENT
  - 1. How many canning factories in Minnesota? Sugar refineries?
  - 2. Name six main employers of "foreign" and Latin American labor?
  - 3. How many migrants are employed in Minnesota?
- E. EARNINGS
  - 1. How much do the most fortunate make? The least fortunate?
  - 2. How much do the Bahamans earn?
- F. HOUSING
  - 1. Describe the best and the worst conditions in housing.
  - 2. Who are the critics of the treatment of the migrants?
  - 3. Who are the defenders? What do they say?
- G. CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH
  - 1. How do the travel, housing and labor conditions affect the children?
  - 2. Who is responsible for enforcing laws in relation to child labor and school attendance and hazardous housing?
  - 3. Are migrants entitled to wage and age protection, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, mothers aid, old age assistance, equality in bargaining?
  - 4. How adequate is the education provided for migrants' children?
  - 5. What is done for the recreation needs of the migrants?
  - 6. What church opportunity do migrants find open to them?
- H. MIGRATORY JORKERS AND SOCIAL WORKERS
  - 1. Is there much aid given to migrants by the social worker?
  - 2. What welfare and medical services have companies provided?
  - 3. What health problems are most serious with Texas-Mexicans, with Bahamans?
  - 4. How serious is delinquency among migrants?
- I. COMMUNITY ATTITUDES AND ACTIVITIES
  - 1. Do migrants suffer discrimination and segregation?
  - 2. What are Union attitudes on Migrant labor?
- J. WHAT IS THE OUTLOOK?
  - 1. How do mechanization, "big business" farms, and the world situation affect the migrant worker?
  - 2. What affect would a state FEP law have on the migrant?
  - 3. Does this material help you answer the objections raised by the Canners at the hearings on FEPC last legislative session — that they would be forced to house and feed hostile minorities together and integrate them in the fields and factories, and that this would cause such violence that the militia would have to be called?
  - 4. What general policies should shape our plans for the future in relation to the migrant worker?

Lèague of Women Voters of Minnesota 84 South Tenth Street, Room 406 Minneapolis 3, Minnesota November, 1951
Additional copies - 1¢

#### MIGRATORY WORK R IN MINNESOTA

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Congressional Record, June 26, 1951, p. 7317; June 27, 1951, p. 7358. If you can get copies at your library, you will find this very interesting and lively reading, giving you general background on recent national legislation.
- Congressional Record, September 2, 1951, p. A6054. Wisconsin Senator Wiley's insert of an article by Rebecca C. Barton, director of Governor's Commission on Human Rights, a report on Wisconsin Migrants, titled "Home Is Where You Find It". A very interesting article on what several Wisconsin communities are doing to solve their migrants' problems.
- \*Henley, Dr. and Mrs. David E., <u>Minnesota and Her Migratory Workers</u>, Land of Promises-Partially Fulfilled, The Migrant Committee of the Minnesota Council of Churches and The Home Missions Council of N. A. A summary report of an investigation into migrant labor conditions in Minnesota based on a field study during the summer of 1950. Bibliography included. 25¢ postpaid after January 1, 1952 order from Minnesota Council of Churches, 122 West Franklin Avenue, Minneapolis.
- Lucey, The Most Reverend Robert E., "The Scandal of Migratory Labor", America, National Catholic Weekly Review, May 26, 1951. The author was a member of the five-man President's Commission on Migratory Labor.
- \*"Migrant forkers Find Better forld in Minnesota Town", <u>Labor Information Bulletin</u>, August 1951, p. 8-9. An article concerning Hollandale's treatment of their migrant problems. This glowing report should be checked for accuracy in the summer of 1952. Reprints available free from U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D. C.
- President's Commission on Migratory Labor, <u>Migratory Labor in American Agriculture</u>, March 1951, Minnesota references pp. 108-110, 169. The ablest and most comprehensive study of the migrant problem as a whole, a 188-page book, excellent background material for Leaguers who really want to study this subject thoroughly. Available from Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Jashington 25, D. C., 75¢. (We have 34 free copies in the state office first come, first served.)
- President's Message to Congress re S. 984, an act relating to the recruiting and employment of agricultural workers from Mexico, July 1951, a 5-page mimeographed sheet, background for recently passed national legislation. (We have 25 free copies in the state office.) More may be available from your representative or senator.
- Schaefer, Edward, "Migrant Workers in Minnesota", Minneapolis Star, July 16-21, 1951. A series of five articles. Old copies of paper may be bought for 5¢ each from the Star as long as they last.
- # Small libraries not having Congressional Records, or citizens in towns with no libraries, may write for them to the State Department of Education.

<sup>\*</sup>Enclosed in 1951-1952 kit

League of Women Voters of Minnesota 84 South Tenth Street, Room 406 Minneapolis 3, Minnesota November, 1951

Additional copies - 1¢

#### DISCUSSION OUTLINE

for

#### material prepared by the Bureau of Indian Affairs LEGISLATIVE REMEDIES FOR PROBLEMS OF INDIANS IN MINNESOTA

1. What do we mean by "Indians"?

2. How are Indians "different" from other people? Why?

3. What are the basic Federal Laws affecting Indians?

4. What are the general economic conditions of Minnesota Indians in reservation areas?

5. Do Indians receive pensions from the Federal Government?

6. In the education of Indians, who builds and pays for the Indian school buildings? Who is responsible for the educational programs in the schools? Who pays for the educational program in these schools?

7. What has been the function of Pipestone school? What is the suggested plan for the future in the care of the children who have been eligible at Pipestone?

8. What proposal has been suggested for the help of counties who are financially embarrassed and cannot meet a large relief load of Indian residents?

9. How are Indian TB cases handled?

10. How are public health nurse services provided for Indians?

11. What was our government's relationship to the Indians from 1779 to 1871?

12. What characterized the period from the 1870's up until the early 1920's?

- 13. What was the significance of the Act of Congress of 1924 which bestowed citizenship upon all non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the . United States?
- 14. How did the Federal grants-in-aid to the states relate to the Indian?

15. Are Indians still wards of the federal government? In what way?

- 16. How does this ward relationship with the federal government affect the Indian's relationship to the state government?
- 17. What remedies are needed for clarification of the Indians' rights and responsibilities before the law?

18. What are the complications involved in financing services to Indians?

- 19. What Hoover Commission Recommendations are supported by the Bureau of Indian Affairs?
- 20. To what Hoover Commission Recommendations does the Bureau of Indian Affairs give only qualified support? Why?
- 21. What use of state money is recommended to improve the lot of both Indian and non-Indian persons living in "Minnesota's distressed counties"?
- 22. Under what conditions would the Bureau of Indian Affairs approve federal aid to the state's citizens of Indian ancestry?
- 23. In the light of your study so far, what is your evaluation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' 8 recommendations for state legislation to improve the conditions of Minnesota Indians?
- 24. Make a comparison of the amount of money Minnesota does not receive (because of the Indian owned tax-exempt land) and of the total worth of services provided to the state from federal funds to aid the Indian population? Which is the lesser?

November, 1951

Additional copies - 1¢

#### INDIAN IN MINNESOTA

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- \*Bureau of Indian Affairs, <u>Legislative Remedies for Problems of Indians in Minnesota</u>. This material was prepared for the League of Jomen Voters by Mr. Donald Foster, director; Mr. Kent FitzGerald, placement officer; and staff. Mimeographed in the League office, copies are available here for 15¢.
- Congressional Record, September 22, 1951, p. 12152, "Shall the Indian Bureau Be Abolished?" Interesting debate.
- Governor's Interracial Commission of Minnesota, <u>The Indian in Minnesota</u>. New edition promised. Write State Office Annex, 117 University Avenue, St. Paul 1, Minnesota. Free.
- Governor's Interstate Indian Conference, <u>Proceedings</u> of the Conference of 14 State Governors, March 14, 1950. Very interesting 59-page book. Available on request from 117 University Avenue, St. Paul 1, Minnesota.
- \*Minnesota Council of Churches, <u>Indian Neighbors in Minnesota</u>, 7-page booklet of answers to questions about our first Americans, very good for mass distribution. Available 122 West Franklin, Minneapolis. 10¢ plus postage; 7½¢ for 50 or more.
- Minnesota Indian Conference, Bemidji, Minnesota, April 11, 1950, <u>Proceedings</u> of Conference. Fascinating verbatim report. 45 pages, available from 117 University Avenue, St. Paul 1. Minnesota.
- Minnesota Legislative Research Committee, Minnesota Indians, March 1950. A 118-page book covering the interrelationship between local, state and federal governments with reference to persons of Indian blood. A few copies available on request, State Capitol, St. Paul, Minnesota.

#### OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION

- American Indians, Inc., 2200 Blaisdell South, Minneapolis. Mr. Melvin Bisson, President. A new organization, formed by Indians who are well established in the city to help Indian newcomers adjust to city life.
- Association on American Indian Affairs, 48 E. 86th Street, New York 28, N. Y. Up-to-date material on Indian conditions in general.
- Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas. Will send on request, free wonderful pamphlets on Indians, such as "Answers to Your Questions on American Indians", "Indian Rights and Their Protection", "Federal Indian Service", "When An Indian Enters the Business World", "Questions on Indian Culture", "The Indian and the Law", "Indians Are Citizens", "Working with the States".
- Indian Rights Association, 301 South 17th St., Phila., Pa. Publish newsletter.
- National Congress of American Indians, 618 Dupont Circle Building, Washington 6, D. C. An organization of Indians, very critical of the Indian Bureau.
- #Small libraries not having Congressional Records, or citizens in towns with no libraries, may write for them to the State Department of Education.
- \*Enclosed in 1951-1952 kit.

#### LEGISLATIVE REMEDIES FOR PROBLEMS OF INDIANS IN MINNESOTA

#### Definition of Term, "Indian"

Who are the Indians in Minnesota? When we speak of "Indians" and "the Indian problem," to what group are we specifically referring? Speaking culturally, or biologically, there are comparatively few Indians left in Minnesota. Except in a few isolated spots, association over the past 200 years with immigrants from western and northern European countries and their "Americanized" descendants has brought about almost complete transformation of the indigenous cultures of the original Indian populations of this area and extensive dilution of the biological Indian strains; so that the year 1952 finds the "Indians" of Minnesota having adopted pretty much the white man's values and mode of living and finds them also on an average to be about one-fourth Indian and three-fourths something else. So cultural and racial or biological qualifications have ceased to be important considerations in the definition of the term, "Indian".

The characteristics of those individuals whom we refer to as "Indians", which set them apart as a group in our State community may best be described in political and sociological terms. Their peculiar political status is most often suggested by the term, "federal wardship". From the earliest days of our relationships with the Indian people, they have held a special relationship with the Federal Government which up until 1924 acted largely to exclude them from relationships with State governments. And while this exclusive relationship with the Federal Government was brought to an end by act of Congress in 1924 (Act of June 2, 1924, 43 Stat. 253), the patterns of relationships between the Federal Government and the Indian people on the one hand, and between the State governments and their Indian populations on the other hand, had become so well established in the preceding 135 years that their effect persists up to the present time. This has resulted in setting the Indian people apart in the minds of a large part of the American public and in the attitudes of many State and local public officials, as a group with a somewhat different political status from other American citizens. And this impression of a different political status still acts in many instances to raise questions of the rights of members of this group to receive the same public services from the same agencies that provide such services to all citizens generally.

The other characteristic which sets this group apart is not so easy to describe. It is one which must be put in sociological terms and amounts simply to the sum of the effects of the sociological experiences which the members of this group have share and are still sharing, though to a decreasing extent, as members of a distinct group. These are mainly the destructive measures employed by the Federal Government against the cultures of the Indian tribes, and the economies on which these cultures were based during the decades of the westward expansion of the United States, and the displacement of the Indian people from their original land-holdings. The futility of defending their lands and their way of life; the rapid disintegration of their culture under the impact of an invading culture (which was frequently characterized by values that were almost diametrically opposed to the basic values of the Indian culture); the social disorganization which attended the Federal Government's restrictive and paternalistic policies after the Indians were confined to reservations resulting in the destruction of local community social responsibility and the undermining of the traditional roles of native leaders, the family providers, and even the parents in relation

\*Available from League of Vomen Voters of Minnesota, Room 406, 84 S. 10th St., Mpls.

to their families; the rapid loss of even the reservation lands; and the exploitation of the Indian people by the white people who moved in and around them - all these things have left deep impressions on the descendants of the original Indian inhabitants of the country. This common experience as a people, which has occurred through all its phases in the context of the relationship of the people with their white neighbors, has had the effect of reinforcing the feeling of "Indians" that they are "different" from other people and that they are "different" in ways which are a constant threat to their feeling of security.

#### Basic Federal Laws Affecting Indians

While there are over 5000 treaties and federal laws dealing with Indians, many of which apply to specific groups, the most important and basic pieces of legislation are comparatively few in number. Those which merit study by a group which is interested in the development of Federal policy in this field and possible legislative remedies for existing problems in Indian administration are:

- 1. Constitution of the United States, Article I, Section 8, which expressly conferred power upon the Congress of the United States "to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes."
- 2. Act of June 30, 1834 (4 Stat. 735) establishing the Department of Indian Affairs, which has since become known as the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior.
- 3. Act of March 3, 1871 (16 Stat. 544, 566), which brought to an end the procedure of dealing with Indian tribes through treaties.
- 4. Act of February 8, 1887 (General Allotment Act, 24 Stat. 388), which authorized the President of the United States to divide any Indian reservation into individual allotments, on which a 25-year trust period was to be imposed, and surplus lands not allotted were authorized to be sold.
- 5. Act of June 2, 1924 (43 Stat. 253), which bestowed citizenship upon all non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States.
- 6. Act of April 16, 1934 (Johnson-O'Malley Act, 48 Stat. 1021), which authorized the Secretary of the Interior to enter into contracts with States or territories for various social services for Indians in such State or Territory through the qualified agencies of such State or Territory.
- 7. Act of June 18, 1934 (Wheeler-Howard or Indian Reorganization Act, 48 Stat. 984), which served to revitalize Indian local self-government and to establish machinery through which the tribes could assume increasing control over their own resources.

#### Economic Conditions

The Indians on reservations, or in reservation areas, in Minnesota are generally living at a very low economic level. The median annual income is considerably lower than that of the general population. With the exception of the Red Lake Band in the northern part of the State, the Indians have largely lost the impressive resources that they had 60 to 70 years ago. Their best timber has been cut with little thought until comparatively recent years of reforesting lands which are primarily forest-producing lands. Their best farm lands have passed into non-Indian ownership. And their valuable summer resort sites on the lakes are rapidly going into the hands of non-Indian operators.

Today they are reduced to the following sources of income:

Wages (largely in seasonal employment)
Hunting, fishing, and trapping
Gathering wild rice and wild berry crops
Sale of forest products

Only on the Red Lake Reservation are hunting, fishing, and trapping still a significant source of income. Income from the sale of timber likewise has become very small except at Red Lake.

While the Red Lake Band still has a valuable resource in its reservation lands, timber, and lakes, this resource in its present state of development is inadequate to support more than two-thirds of the reservation population. With the closing of the Red Lake Mill (a tribal enterprise) within the next four or five years, economic dislocation of a large part of the employable population will become a very serious problem unless measures of some kind have been taken to meet this situation by that time.

#### Do Indians Receive Pensions from Federal Government?

Indians do not receive any kind of pensions from the Federal Government. This is a common misconception and stems from the practice in years gone by of the Federal Government distributing Indian tribal funds to members of the various bands while these funds lasted. These funds had come into the U.S. Treasury as the proceeds of the sales of Indian lands or timber or other resources. From time to time, usually during periods of economic distress, Congress authorized payments to the Indians from their own funds in the Treasury. Congress never has made outright cash gifts to the Indians. Per capita payments from tribal funds are still made once or twice a year to the Red Lake Indians from funds accruing as profits from the operation of their lumber mill and from the sale of their timber. This is the only group in Minnesota whose members still receive occasional per capita payments from their own funds. Even in this group the payment per capita seldom exceeds \$150 or \$200 in one year. All other groups in the State are practically without tribal funds in the U.S. Treasury today.

## Minnesota Educational Services for Indians Residing on Tax Free Lands

Bureau of Indian Affairs has entered into a contract with Minnesota State Education Division. Under this agreement, Bureau of Indian Affairs pays \$310,000 in federal funds to cover costs of educating Indian children in the regular public schools near the homes of these Indians who live on their tax-exempt lands. About 3000 Indian children were enrolled in these public schools during the recent school year. Bus services and hot lunches are included in the services rendered.

Pipestone Indian Boarding School is operating now but our Federal Office notified us and the state officials several months ago that it will cease operation July 1952. There are 130 young Indian children currently receiving care and educational services there. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has offered to pay to Minnesota State Welfare Division the costs of boarding home care for Pipestone children, under a plan which places upon State Welfare Divisions the responsibility for selection of individual homes and supervision of these homes while the Indian children reside there under the boarding home program. Such a program will provide the proper atmosphere in which Indian children from under privileged homes can develop properly and can learn the arts essential to maintaining their own homes properly. This program will remove Indian children from a segregated Indian School and will afford them opportunities to make friends with non-Indians and to adjust to normal society. The State Welfare Division has not yet fully accepted our plan and, to date, has not transferred from Pipestone Boarding School to a foster home any child enrolled this school year.

It costs the taxpayer \$141,000 annually to operate the Pipestone School. This sum might better be used to give underprivileged children a more satisfactory start in life. Bureau of Indian Affairs and tribal leaders want for Indian children the type of services available to white children, Negro children, Mexican children in Minnesota.

Bureau of Indian Affairs provides educational training for a substantial number of Minnesota Indian adolescents who are enrolled in Indian Boarding Schools at Flandreau, S. Dak., and Lawrence, Kansas; also for a group of Indian girls who may receive training as ward attendants in hospitals at the Kiowa Hospital, Lawton, Oklahoma. In our opinion, these schools should continue to accept Minnesota students as long as there is an interest expressed by the students or their parents.

#### School Facilities Constructed by Indian Service Since State Took Over The Schools - in 1935

1.	Red Lake	\$300,000.00	
2.	Naytauwaush	212,000.00	
3.	Walker	180,000.00	
4.	Pine Point (Ponsford)		(Original \$65,000 Addition \$35,000)
5.	Vineland	65,000.00	
6.	Grand Portage	190,000.00	
7.	Ponemah (recently burned) Replacement will be about		

8. White Earth WPA project - cost not known

## Minnesota-Welfare Services for Indians

Needy Indians in Minnesota obtain public assistance grants from county welfare agencies if they meet the eligibility standards for Old Age Assistance. Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to Blind. Those who do not qualify for the assistance mentioned above must depend on relief granted from county funds, or in the case of Red Lake Indians, on tribal funds available to the needy Red Lake group. Red Lake earns the money in operation of a sawmill and a fishing business.

Minneapolis Area Office, Indian Affairs, has proposed to our Washington Office that BIA fund of \$100,000 be made available to match state funds, for providing relief grants to needy Indians - thus relieving those counties which are financially embarrassed and which have large numbers of Indian residents. The Minnesota delegation that consulted Washington about this did not initiate their request until it was too late for our Federal Office to get the request into our budget and obtain approval of Bureau of Budget for the year 1952. Our Federal Office promised to request this sum of money to be included in the 1953 budget.

#### Minnesota Health Services for Indians

The Indian Service contracts with the State Welfare Department for the care of T. B. patients. Patients are cared for in all hospitals on the same basis as whites.

Contract amount - \$230,000.00

The Service works with the State Public Health Department on a cooperative arrangement for Public Health Nursing service. The Indian Service has three full time Public Health nurses paid from Indian Service funds. It is the desire of the Service to have all Public Health nursing done by the Public Health Department of the State. We will withdraw our nurses as soon as the State can obtain qualified nurses. At present we pay the State \$4.000.00 per year for cooperative services.

#### Political Status

When the first explorers and settlers from the northern and western European countries came into the North American continent the Indian people they found here were actually independent, sovereign peoples. They were in possession of the land; they were under the domination of no outside power; they had the power to wage war and to make peace; and to enter into trade agreements with other nations. This status was recognized by the European powers and by some of the American colonies in various treaties they entered into with the Indian groups with whom they came in contact.

Under the Constitution of the United States, when our national government was formed, this position of the Indian nations continued to be recognized. The Constitution actually placed Indian tribes on a higher level of sovereignty than the member states of the Union. This is evidenced by the fact that relationships between the Indians and our government were arranged for at the federal or national level. No State had any power to negotiate with any Indian tribe. The power to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes was vested in the Federal Government.

The title of the Indians to the lands west of the first settlements on the eastern coast was recognized again and again by the United States as it arranged for repeated cessions of lands to the United States. All of our relationships with the Indian tribes were conducted through the treaty-making procedure which is a procedure followed in international law for negotiations between sovereign powers.

One of the powers the Indian tribes always reserved in their various treaties with the United States was the power of local self-government. Under this provision the tribe in each instance remained independent of any legislative action that the State which formed around it might take.

Thus for close to 100 years after the establishment of the Federal Government Indian tribes maintained a relationship with the Federal Government which was exclusive of relationships with the States which formed around them. Members of Indian tribes under this arrangement had somewhat the status of nationals of foreign countries as far as the individual States were concerned.

In 1871, after the largest Indian tribes had been reduced from a position where they might be considered a military threat, the Congress of the United States brought the treaty-making procedure of dealing with the Indian tribes to an end. In that year one of the officials of the Federal Government referred to the sovereign status of the Indian tribes as a "fiction" and said in effect that the Indians are actually "dependent subject peoples living within our borders."

Thus the Indian people moved into a kind of political no-man's land. From the 1870's up until the early 1920's, the Federal Government attempted to control every phase of Indian life - their resources, the providing of services to them, and their transformation into something like the people who had moved in around them. Neither the Indian people nor the State governments (which were inevitably to be concerned with their Indian populations) were consulted, except sporadically, through all these years. The Federal Government acted as trustee for Indian property; it provided the services which are commonly provided by the States and local communities schools, health services, law enforcement, welfare and relief, etc.; and up until recent years even controlled the coming and going of the Indian people from the reservation areas, and the activities of traders on the reservations. And they did all these things without requiring contributions either from the Indians, from the States, or from the local units of government within individual States. Consequently both the Indian people and the States which formed around the reservations had impressed upon them for over 100 years the fact that the welfare of the Indians was an exclusive responsibility of the Federal Government.

In 1924 the political status of the Indians and the responsibilities of the States toward their Indian populations were drastically altered by Act of Congress (Act of June 2, 1924, 43 Stat. 253). This act bestowed citizenship upon all non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States. This legislation automatically made the Indians citizens of the States where they had legal residence and thus made them eligible for all public services which are normally provided by State and local governments.

The import of this legislation was not immediately grasped by State and local public officials, by the Indian people, or even by officials of the Federal Indian Service. It merely set the stage for the eventual political assimilation and integration of the Indian people and their local governments into the lives of the States of which they were a part.

The Indian Service continued to exercise the same controls over Indian life and property and to provide the same services to the Indians for many years after 1924. In the early 1930's the Federal Government began increasingly to move into fields of local welfare through its various grants-inaid programs to the States. Under these programs new patterns in the relationship of the Federal Government to the various States began to evolve. Federal legislation generally conformed to the following pattern. Grants-inaid from the Federal Government to the States for subsidizing various services at the State and local level were made available to any State which would set up a program that conformed to basic standards outlined in the federal law. Federal grants were made available on various combinations of fund matching by State governments. One of the cardinal principles of all these programs from the beginning has been that the benefits of programs financed in part with federal grants must be made available to all citizens of the State regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin. With the last consideration in mind federal subsidies are distributed largely on the basis of population counts. All States with Indian populations have consistently included their citizens of Indian ancestry in applying for grants under these programs. And the federal agencies which have the responsibility for making grants-in-aid to the various States have maintained the position consistently that citizens of Indian ancestry are eligible for the services provided through these programs. This new pattern of relationships between the Federal Government and the States has implicit within it the eventual termination of the exclusive responsibility of the Federal Government for the welfare of the Indian people.

#### Obstacles to Political Integration

There remain today some real obstacles to the final integration of the Indian people into the political life of the States where they are living. While Federal guardianship over the person of the Indian has been completely erased with exception of the Federal Indian liquor laws - he is free to come and go as he pleases and he has the right to vote in every State in the Union it still continues over one of the most important aspects of his life. This is the Federal Government's control over whatever lands and land resources it still holds in trust for the individual Indian or for the Indian band or tribe. This federal trust status of Indian lands and land resources has the effect of holding such property out of the tax-levying jurisdiction of State and local governments. And since many public services are financed, at least in part, out of State or local land tax revenues, the right of Indians living on such lands to such services continues with some justification to be questioned. (It should be borne in mind, however, that Indian-owned lands where the title has passed from the Federal Government to the Indians, or where the land has been purchased by the Indian and the title has never been in the Federal Government, are subject to State and local taxes, and the Indian occupants of such land pay these taxes the same as anyone else is required to do.)

Another obstacle to political integration is the continuance of the local autonomy of Indian tribes on Indian reservations. Laws enacted by the Minnesota State legislature do not extend to Indians living on reservations within the State and cannot be enforced by local public officials unless the local tribal authorities have agreed to the extension of such laws to the reservations. Thus an Indian committing an offense under State law, if he commits the offense on reservation land, cannot be prosecuted. (If he commits such an offense off the reservation, however, he is liable to prosecution.) A further complication in this regard is that no powers of extradition exist either for State or tribal governments to bring an Indian offender before whatever court would have jurisdiction to try him for the alleged offense. Tribal courts cannot legally bring an Indian back onto the reservation to stand trial once he has left the reservation; and State and local courts cannot legally bring an Indian back from the reservation to stand trial for an infraction of the law he has committed off the reservation.

This lack of jurisdiction of State and local courts can be remedied in two ways - (1) by Federal legislation conferring upon State governments civil and criminal jurisdiction over offenses against State laws committed by Indians on Indian lands; (2) by State legislation accepting such jurisdiction where the local tribal authorities have agreed to the extension of specific laws to reservation areas. Legislation is now pending in Congress (S. 1219) to bestow civil and criminal jurisdiction on the State of Minnesota over offenses committed by Indians against State laws on reservations in Minnesota. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is supporting this legislation. The other procedure could be employed until the necessary federal legislation is enacted if State legislation could be provided accepting jurisdiction in those cases where local tribal authorities have agreed to extension of specific state laws to the reservations (e.g., school attendance and public health laws).

Consideration should be given also to state legislation providing mutual powers of extradition in tribal courts and State courts for the apprehension and return for trial of offenders against tribal or state laws who remove themselves from the place where the offense has been committed and where they must be tried. This would call for a cooperative legislative undertaking by State and local tribal authorities.

#### Financing of Services

To come to grips with the problems of financing services for Indians, one needs to study the public services now available in Minnesota to all citizens generally and the sources of revenue from which these services are financed. Some services are financed entirely out of federal funds (e.g. - the State Employment Service); there is no question about the eligibility of Indians for the services of this agency. Some are financed by combinations of State funds and federal grants (e.g. - the aid to the blind program); here again there should be no question about the eligibility of Indians for this aid. Others are financed by combinations of local county funds, State aids, and federal aids. Here we begin to run into questions of the eligibility of Indians for service. especially where the local share of the cost is financed wholly or in part out of the property tax because of the existence of Indian tax-exempt lands which contribute no tax revenues at the local level. The eligibility of Indians for such services (e.g. - old age assistance and aid for dependent children) has been confirmed repeatedly by the federal agencies making federal grants for the support of these programs. Federal policy in this regard has become well

established regardless of whether the Indian client is living on land on which taxes are being paid (in which case there can be no question at all) or on taxexempt Indian land. Still other services are financed by combinations of State and local county funds (e.g.-care of indigent tuberculosis patients) or entirely by local funds (e.g.-local general relief). In the latter two types of services—i.e., those financed entirely either by State and local funds, or by local funds, we find the greatest resistance to making the services available to Indians without special federal contributions or reimbursement through the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

#### Hoover Commission Recommendations

The Hoover Commission, in that section of its report on the Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government which deals with services for Indians, recommends progressive transfer of responsibility from the Federal Government to the States and their local units of government for services to the Indian people and eventual termination of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It also recommends that these services be provided through the same State and local public agencies which are providing services to the general population. With these two recommendations the Bureau of Indian Affairs is in full accord. The Commission makes a further recommendation that special federal subsidies be made to the States with Indian populations until such time as the Indian communities within the State in each instance have reached a level of social and economic well-being which will permit them to carry their share of the costs of such services. Out of consideration for the rights of the Indians as citizens, the Bureau of Indian Affairs feels that this recommendation must be given careful study and can have only qualified support from the Pureau.

The only possible legal claim which the State of Minnesota (or any other State with an Indian population) has against the Federal Government for special federal subsidies to finance the cost of services to its citizens of Indian ancestry is the loss of state and local revenues which are being sustained because of the existence within the State of lands held in trust by the Federal Government for the Indians and thus held off of State and local tax rolls. The extent and value of these lands are both important considerations in the amount of aid the State may with good conscience look to the Federal Government for. The number of Indian people living on such lands for whom services must be provided is another important consideration.

Next we must consider the source or sources of revenue from which the service under study in each instance is financed. For example, public education is financed in part at the local level by the property tax. State aids for education in Minnesota are financed entirely out of the State income tax, which all Indians with the minimum income specified in the State law are required to pay. The presence of Indian tax-exempt land consequently does not affect the State's source of revenue for financing its State aids-to-education program.

Another service the financing of which is presenting serious problems in some counties where Indians are living in Minnesota is general relief. Relief in Minnesota is financed in total out of county funds whose principal source of revenue is the property tax. But here again care must be taken to see to what extent tax-exempt Indian land in the county is an important factor in the county's general financial problems.

Most of the counties with Indian populations are included in what have been described frequently in various State reports as "Minnesota's distressed counties." Many of them, in addition to having tax-exempt Indian lands in them, encompass large areas of federal national forest lands, state forest lands, state park lands,

and other lands which have reverted to public ownership because of the failure of the last private owners to pay the taxes levied against the lands. In most instances the Indian lands would yield little or no revenue in the form of taxes if they were included on the tax rolls. This fact is supported by the frequent reversion to public ownership of lands similar to the Indian lands because of insufficient income from the land to make the payment of taxes on it feasible.

Most of these counties are made up of land which is primarily forest-producing land. It is good for little else and until the State undertakes a long-range reforestation and forest improvement program in these areas, these counties will continue to be plagued with revenue problems resulting from lack of a sound State land policy.

The same counties are underdeveloped industrially and until more industry can be introduced into these areas, the population, both Indian and non-Indian, will have to depend to a large extent on seasonal wage employment. Here again there is need for a vigorous industrial development program which will provide the jobs which are needed for the economic health of any community.

These two things - a sound land policy and program, and an industrial development program - are State responsibilities, and their development and prosecution are basic to general improvement of the economic condition of the areas of the State where Indians are living. They will benefit not only the Indian people, but their non-Indian neighbors as well, and the State as a whole. These are two areas where State legislation and State appropriations are very much in order. Federal subsidies to help finance Services to Indians in these counties would never do more than render palliative relief where deeper and more far-reaching action is necessary. And if the Federal Government embarked on such a program-to finance services for Indians—it would have to continue the program indefinitely until the State began to provide remedies which only the State can provide.

Getting back to the extent of federal aid for services to the State's citizens of Indian ancestry, the Bureau of Indian affairs feels that any such aid can be given only in relation to the extent of Indian tax-exempt land holdings and the number of Indians who are living on such land for whom services must be provided. This aid, moreover, if granted, must be dedicated to meeting the loss of revenue to local units of government because of the existence of local tax-exempt Indian land. It must not be used as a substitute for State-aids which come from sources other than the property tax. And it can be given only with the clear understanding that the program is a temporary one which will come to a close when the communities of which Indians are members are financially able to carry their own services for all of their citizens, including Indians, with whatever general Federal and State aids are normally provided for such services.

If the Bureau of Indian Affairs were to take any other position, it would be endangering the rights of Indians as citizens to receive the same public services as are provided to all citizens generally. Indians who are living on lands which are on the tax rolls are in exactly the same position as any other citizens in the State and are entitled to services on the same basis. The Federal Government must disagree with any State or local public official who would require special federal aid for services to individuals simply on the basis of their racial origin or their earlier exclusive relationship with the Federal Government. To yield in this matter would be to place in jeopardy the rights of Indians as citizens wherever they might go. In this respect Indians are in somewhat the same position in relation to the Federal Government as the veterans of World Wars I and II. The Federal Government continues under some obligation to the Indians, under treaties entered into with the Indian tribes, to provide certain services.

just as it accepted obligations to provide certain services to the veterans of the two world wars. This obligation runs in each instance from the Federal Government to the individual Indian or the individual veteran. It does not act to relieve either the States, or local units of government within the State, of their responsibilities to their citizens of American Indian ancestry or their citizens who happen to be veterans.

## State Legislation Which Would Help to Improve Conditions among Minnesota's Citizens of Indian Ancestry

- 1. Enactment of a long-range State land-use program including reforestation and forest improvement.
- 2. Enactment of legislation to encourage and, if necessary, to subsidize industrial development in those areas where there are chronic labor surpluses and where industrial development possibilities exist.
- 3. Enactment of fair employment practices legislation to insure equal opportunities for Indians in employment.
- 4. Enactment of legislation authorizing State civil and criminal law enforcement authorities to accept jurisdiction to enforce State laws in reservation areas in those instances where the local tribal authorities have agreed to the extension of specific state laws to the reservation.
- 5. Enactment of legislation providing mutual extradition powers between State courts and tribal courts in those instances where local tribal authorities desire mutual extradition powers.
- 6. Enactment of legislation to permit the organization of Indian villages on reservations as municipalities in the regular political structure of the State, to provide machinery for local self-government which conforms to the established State pattern for local autonomy.
- 7. Enactment of legislation providing State aids for general assistance and other welfare services where state aids do not now exist and are needed. (Cf. Merotz law enacted by Wisconsin 1951 legislature.)

Comparison of Value for Tax Purposes of Indian Tax-Exempt Lands in the State of Minnesota with Federal Expenditures (through the Bureau of Indian Affairs) To Insure Providing of Various Services to Minnesota's Indian Population

According to the Minnesota Legislative Research Committee's Report "Minnesota Indians", published in March, 1950, the value of all Indian lands throughout the State of Minnesota was \$2.334,866.00.

A study made by field personnel of the Minneapolis Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the spring of 1951 indicates that the average total millage levied by all counties in the State having Indian tax-exempt lands was 158 mills. Taking the full valuation of Indian lands as quoted in the Minnesota Legislative Research Committee's report, an average tax levy of 158 mills would produce a tax revenue on these lands of \$368,908.83. (Normally, property is not assessed at 100% of its appraised value for tax purposes. We have figured the assessment at 100% of the appraised value of these lands to show the highest possible tax yield that could be realized from these lands.)

The Federal Government, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, spends the following sums of money in Minnesota annually for the benefit of citizens of Indian descent which the State and its local units of government would be required to spend if it were not for these tax-free lands and if the State treated the Indian as any other citizen.

	The second secon
Education (under contract with the State Dept. of Educ.)	\$ 310,000
Health - for the care of tubercular patients, (under con-	
tract with the State Division of Soc. Welfare)	230,000
- for public health nursing services (under con-	
tract with the State Dept. of Health)	4,000
- for public health nursing services (Bureau of	
	9,290
Indian Affairs personnel, 2 public health nurses)	
- for general medical services (through 4 Indian Ser-	·
vice hospital facilities at Red Lake, Cass Lake,	
Cloquet, and White Earth)	273,638
- for public health services (other than nursing)	
and dental care (Indian Service personnel)	57,361
- for general hospital care (specialist services	
not available in Indian Service facilities)	10,800
Welfare - operation of Pipestone Boarding School (all chil-	20,000
	7/17 000
dren in this institution are welfare cases)	141,000
Law Enforcement	16,200
Placement - to facilitate placement of Indians in off-	The same of the sa
reservation employment	15,353
Roads - (These roads are used by the general public)	81,664
Total Federal Expenditures (Bureau of Indian Affairs)	\$1,149,306
Highest possible tax revenue from Indian tax-exempt lands	
in the State of Minnesota if these lands were taxed	- 368,909
In the blade of Mimesola II these failes were taken	
State's financial advantage under existing arrangements	\$ 780,397
(Prepared by U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Minneapolis Area Offi	ice, 11-26-51)

#### INDIAN LANDS AND POPULATION

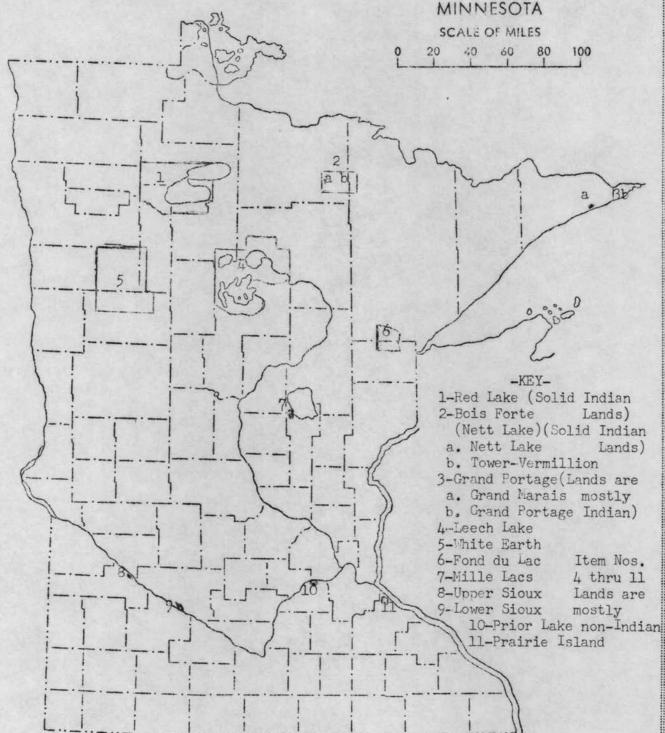
County	Acres	Pop.2	County	Acres	Pop.2
Aitkin	579	91	Morrison		2
Becker	5,619	1,527	Mower		3 8
Beltrami	311,539	2,673	Nicollet		8
Benton		8	Norman		16
Blue Earth		2	Otter Tail		4
Brown		5	Pennington	107	6
Carlton	13,940	554	Pine	920	178
Carver		2	Pipestone	532	254
Cass	46,935	1,814	Polk	11	21
Clay		29	Pope		4
Clearwater	126,702	331	Ramsey		
Cook	42,885	246	Rural		37
Cottonwood		4	City		163
Dakota		19	Red Lake	25	2
Douglas		10	Redwood	1,743	170
Faribault		6	Renville		2
Freeborn		79	Rice		23
Goodhue	534	121	Rock		5
Hennepin			Roseau	7,530	109
Rural		79	St. Louis		
City		426	Rural	33,020	698
Houston	352	19	City		186
Hubbard	200	79	Scott	258	16
Isanti		13	·Sherburne		59
Itasca	19,840	526	Sibley		1
Jackson		1	Stearns		25
Kandiyohi		6	Steele		7 2
Koochiching	79,209	147	Swift		2
Lac qui Parle		1	Todd		5 8
Lake		25	Wabasha	110	8
Lake of the wood	is 112,082		Wadena		3
Lincoln		1	Washington		36
McLeod		2	Wilkin		10
Mahnomen	39,000	1,009	Winona		. 5
Marshall	252	1	Wright		3
Mille Lacs	2,240	430	Yellow Medicine	746	111

Total Indian Tax-exempt land in Minnesota<sup>1</sup> 846,910

Total Indian population in Minnesota<sup>2</sup> 12,468

<sup>1.</sup> Indian Tax-exempt Lands in Minnesota, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Minneapolis Area Office.

<sup>2.</sup> If a person is recognized and accepted as an Indian in the community, he is counted as an Indian by the Bureau of the Census. Bureau of Census figures, April 1, 1950 - subject to revision.



Prepared by Bureau of Indian Affairs, Minneapolis Area Office

League of Jomen Voters of Minnesota 84 South Tenth Street, Room 406 Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

November 27, 1951

Additional copies - 1¢

#### A PLAN FOR DISCUSSING THE CIVIL RIGHTS ITEM

- 1. Read the item as it is stated in the League Program: "The League will work for a greater understanding of civil rights in Minnesota and for legislation to correct discrimination."
- 2. Review League history on this item

a. 1949 convention chose

1) general study of Civil Rights in Minnesota

a) Civil Rights in Minnesota, LWV publication

b) To Secure These Rights, President's Committee on Civil Rights c) Reports of the Governor's Interracial Commission of Minnesota

2) study of pros and cons of FAPC legislation

a) Fair Employment Practices Act, Minnesota Employers' association

b) Minnesota Council for F.P reply to above

b. 1950 convention decided to support an FMPC bill
1) Digest of State FMPC Laws - L V publication

2) Proposed Bill

- c. 1951 convention continued support of FEPC bill and chose to study problems of Indian and migrant worker in Minnesota
- d. 1952 convention ? ? ? ?
- 3. Explain that as a result of convention decision the League's job today is a. Building public opinion in favor of FTPC legislation

1) As an organization

a) See Community Action on Civil Rights (enclosed)

2) As an individual

- a) Speaking to your neighbor
- b) Writing to your legislator

c) Iriting to your editor

- b. Study of the problems of the Indian and the migrant worker

  If your community has either Indians or migrant workers, your study will be more interesting if you add local facts. (The state office would be interested in your findings.)
  - 1) Indian in Minnesota

Use enclosed materials

a) <u>Legislative Remedies for Problems of Indians in Minnesota</u>, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Minneapolis Area

b) Discussion Outline on above

c) Indian Neighbors in Minnesota, Minnesota Council of Churches

d) Bibliography - for further information

2) Migrant forker in Minnesota

Use enclosed materials

a) Minnesota and Her Migratory Workers, Minn. Council of Churches

b) Discussion Outline on above

- c) Migrant Jorkers Find Retter Jorld in Minnesota Town, U.S. Dept, of Labor
- d) Bibliography for further information

Remember that discussion has a purpose ---- DECISION!

After discussing these problems, ast your members these questions 1. Are these problems which should concern the League of Jomen Voters?

2. What can or should we do?

Your discussion and decision will make the next state Program which will be decided at the 1952 convention.

# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
FIELD SERVICE

Minneapolis Area Office 250 Buzza Building 2908 Colfax Avenue South Minneapolis 8, Minnesota

December 12, 1951

Mrs. Grace Wilson League of Women Voters of Minnesota 84 South Tenth Street Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Wilson:

I have been meaning to get in touch with you ever since we received the memorandum copies of your study material on the Indian in Minnesota. I think that you and your staff have done an excellent job in getting this material together and in duplicating it in such an attractive form.

You and the League are performing a very important and valuable service in getting this information out to your branches throughout the State and in developing a better understanding on the part of the general public with regard to the problems of the Indian population in Minnesota.

Please accept my thanks for the good work you are doing.

Sincerely yours,

K.w. Diyon

REPORT TO WISCONSIN

Rebecca C. Barton, Director Governor's Commission on Human Rights

Broadcast on WHA December 5, 1951, 10:30 a.m. for Madison League of Women Voters

The Governor's Commission on Human Rights has just recently held its annual meeting. It seems appropriate, therefore, to give you some details about this Commission, what it is set up to do and what it is planning to do in the coming months. Since this is a new state agency, we should not assume that you know all about it. And it is especially important in a field like human rights - which touches upon human values like happiness and self-respect -- that you should have as fair and accurate an account as possible of agencies seeking to promote them.

At the present time the Commission is composed of 33 men and women, from various sections of the state, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Negro, white, and Indian; Democrats and Republicans; business men, educators, lawyers, housewives. Appointed for 3-year terms by 3 successive Governors, it is probably as non-political and non-partisan an association of people working together as you can find in the state of Wisconsin. Recent appointees by Governor Kohler reveal this aim to establish a partnership of individuals with differing contributions. For example, Mrs. Harmon Hull of Waupun and Mayor Stanley Greene of Sturgeon Bay have given leadership to their communities in planning projects for migrant workers and are therefore in a position to help the Commission in developing state-wide programs. James Frechette, past tribal president of the Menominees and now a skilled welfare worker on the Menominee reservation, is certainly able to render expert advice to the Commission on Indian Affairs.

The Commission's statutory duty is to "make Wisconsin a better place in which to live," through educational means. It is the hope that such means will help eliminate prejudice and discrimination and increase opportunities for individuals according to merit alone.

In looking at the program of the Commission please bear one point in mind. The Governor's Commission on Human Rights is set up to deal with all aspects of prejudice and discrimination based on race, creed, and color, with the exception of employment. The reason for this is simple. The State of Wisconsin has made special provision for problems of fair employment by establishing a special advisory board and staff under the jurisdiction of the Industrial Commission, which has a long tradition of dealing with employer-employee relations. All matters of employment involving alleged discrimination should be referred directly to the Industrial Commissioners or to the executive of their F. E. P. C. division, Miss Virginia Huebner of Milwaukee.

This F. E. P. C. branch of state government has done a solid job of integrating qualified personnel from minority groups into industry and business in Milwaukee. Although it has had neither the staff nor the funds to carry on much activity in the rest of the state, the picture now looks more hopeful. The 1951 legislature granted increased funds to F. E. P. C. so that it could expand and offer services to other communities such as Madison which have requested them.

While not assigned to work on employment problems itself, the Governor's Commission on Human Rights cooperates with the F. E. P. C. division of the Industrial Commission whenever desired. For example, it went on record as favoring a strengthening of the state fair employment law requested by the advisory committee of F. E. P. C. Although the bill passed the Assembly by a large majroity, it was not voted out of a Senate Committee in time to be put up for passage before the 1951 legislature adjourned. If the people of Wisconsin wish a stronger F. E. P. C. law with enforcement machinery it is up to them to persuade their representatives accordingly. The Governor's Commission on Human Rights can do no more than present the facts and educate on the issue. The particular ways in which the state implements fair employment will rest in the last analysis in the hands of the citizens.

It would be a false picture if anyone thought of our Commission as a policemen with a big stick. We neither make nor enforce laws, nor do we prosecute. Our main job is to supply information and to count on people's sense of fair play once they know the facts. As an educational agency we rely on moral persuasion in conflict situations. If you wish a figure of speech, perhaps a watchdog would serve, in the sense that the Comm ssion is alerted to detect foul play. But even that is a negative and rather unfriendly concept. I personally prefer the more complimentary description once given the Commission by the Milwaukee Journal when it likened the Comm ssion to a David fighting against a Goliath. We are for man, not against man. There are powerful forces of intolerance we must combat for the sake of a free society. We have no chance of vict ry without the moral support of the citizenry. And we are betting on this citizenry in the long run. It is as simple as that.

This brings us back every time to a faith in the local community and its ability to solve its own problems. In Wisconsin today there are many local groups organized to implement human rights. We do not presume to intervene in their affairs. They know their communities best. Our role as a state agency is to act as a source and clearing house of information, as a coordinator of plans, and as a consultant when so desired. It would be a mistake to identify our state agency with any one of these local organizations. Even though we try to provide such services as they request, we neither formulate nor administer their own policies and programs.

Our relationship is illustrated by a request recently received by our Commission from the City Council of Madison to provide them in three months! time with data concerning state laws and city ordinances in the United States which deal with discrimination. This request grew out of a debate in the city council over a proposed ordinance modelled on the state denial of rights law in places of public amusement and accommodation, and adding provisions to cover the sale and rental of real estate. The Governor's Commission on Human Rights did not appear at the council's hearings on this ordinance nor did not pass judgment on the pros and cons. in spite of the fact that some aldermen and a good many citizens seemed to desire an expression of opinion from the Commission. However, at its annual meeting on October 17, the Commission did accede to the unanimous request of the City Council to do a piece of research for them. It seemed to be consistent with both the fact-finding and the community servicex functions of the Commission.

I would like to point out that there is no way of telling in advance hat this study will reveal or how the City Council will react to the facts presented. However, what is noteworthy is the way in which those on both sides of the issue agreed that emotions and opinions were not enough to serve as a basis for intelligent action. A calm and objective approach will have the best chance of leading to c nstructive solutions. Our Commission believes that there is certainly a time and place for legislation in the field of human rights, but it is vitally important to see to it that such legislation is good legislation. Every loophole must be checked, and all loose ends must be tied together.

When I mention legislation in commection with our Commission, some of you must wonder how that fits in with what I said earlier about our being an educational agency. But is there an inevitable conflict between these functions? We do not think so. Let me explain it in this way: Our Commission operates with the broadest possible definition of education. This explains why we are interested in legislation. In fact, legislation cannot be separated from education since it is really one form of education. For example, even the process of trying to pass a bill which will increase opportunities for all individuals of whatever race, creed, or color, is an educational one. A maximum number of people learn about the issues at stake, perhaps for the first time, and are thus enabled to think through their own position.

Sometimes we hear the expression - "you can't legislate attitudes." The best anser to that is to agree. Of course you cannot - at least in the short run. But let's push it a bit further. Laws are not supposed to deal with attitudes or feelings. Their business is to regulate behavior, which is quite a different matter. A law against murder is supposed to stay the hand, not change the heart. We must remember that prejudice is the attitude and discrimination the act. Discrimination is a form of spiritual murder and must be checked by law. An effective law lays a floor below which a man cannot go in his treatment of his fellow-man. It also establishes an ideal toward which society can strive.

Fortunately, also, our society believes that <u>in the long run</u> civilized conduct, regulated by law, will engender civilized attitudes. Children growing up within a framework of noew social patterns will tend to accept them without the emotional resistance of prejudices. In this sense, then, we can indeed hope to legislate attitudes.

Let me give an exam le of what our Commission considered good legislation in the last session. Our 12,000 migratory workers are badly needed in Wisconsin agriculture. Yet often their living conditions are unsatisfactory and even substandard in terms of sanitation and health. So our Commission suggested that the Board of Health be authorized to inspect and license migrant camps. This precaution would safeguard the health not only of the migrants but also of the surrounding communities. Governor Kohler approved of this suggestion, the Board of Health drafted a suitable bill, including a summer for hiring two sanitarians, and the Joint Finance Committee introduced the bill and recommended its passage. It is now law. We believe that it will be an effective and beneficial law to all concerned.

This question of the migrants brings up another piece of information about the Commission's point of view. We believe that the satisfactory adjustment of m grants in the state depends upon treating them like complete human beings with many needs, not only in employment, but in housing, education, and recreation. This is c nsistent with what the psychologists tell us about the organic nature of life itself. The human personality does not develop by pieces nor function in segments. Sometimes people say that employment is the most basic right of each individual. But satisfactory employment is like sawdust if opportunities to a full life are denied anywhere along the line. A man must have self-respect if he is to enjoy the fruits of his labor. No normal person can compartmentalize his life. Perhaps there is much wisdom in the saying, "man cannot live by bread alone."

This explaines why our Commission believes in a unilateral approach to problems of prejudice and discrimination, all up and down the line. When we found that mothers of migrant children were more concerned with getting education for their children than they were with family income, we started helping Communities set up summer schools for these children. When we found that the dark-skinned Britishers from Jamaica were more sensitive to social isolation than to hard working conditions we encouraged plans for recreational programs.

It is encouraging to see how many communities in Wisconsin are beginning to provide educational-recreational programs for their migrants. Let

Well, I have told you a little about our Commission, its relation to local groups, its views on employment, legislation, education, and recreation. But what it all boils down to is that we believe in using not part but all our intelligence, all our good will, and all our resources for better human relations. In this effort our Commission has "madice toward none." On the contrary, we believe in the future of human rights in Wisconsin because we believe in the future of man.

# LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

MADISON, WISCONSIN

December 20, 1951

Mrs. Harold Wilson 84 South Tenth St. Minneapolis 2, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Wilson:

Mrs. Marshall, of the state League office, has referred to me your request for December scripts used on the Madison League's WHA program.

I am happy to send you the only two I have. In addition, I have written to Mrs. Coggs asking her to forward her remarks to you if she has them in writing. She will send her script to you directly from Milwaukee, if she has it at all.

We are trying this year to devote succesive months' broadcasts to successive items on the League agenda, co-ordinating the programs with the Madison League's study of that subject. Hence, the December programs all revolve around human rights. If you would like sample scripts on other subject, I have a few on hand which I can lend you.

I would also be interested in an exchange. Does your League have a radio program? What sort of material be do you use?

Please return these two scripts to me at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Frances Hurst

(Mrs. Willard Hurst), radio chairman Madison League of Women Voters

2805 Ridge Rd.

in Cervil 176 for heague - 1 for Courses

March 26, 1951

To: Presidents

From: Mrs. H. H. Livingston, Legislative Chairman

On March 20th, the Minnesota Council for FEPC sent a letter to your local newspaper editor, urging his support of a Fair Employment Practices Commission and enclosed four pieces of literature to bolster their arguments. (We have enclosed these for your information.)

Those in the League of Women Voters who have been lobbying for FEPC at the Capitol think it would be wonderfully helpful if a letter to the editor, along the lines of the sample below should go to your local paper. If, as a result, letters should come to the kepresentatives and Senators urging support of FEPC, it would save our lives. Time is short.

To the Editor:\*

The Fair Employment Practices law is in the balance. A few votes moving either way will mean its passage or its defeat. Several legislators have told me that they would like to vote for the bill, but that constant and powerful pressure against it from Mr. Christenson of the Minnesota Employers Association and Mr. Elmer of the Minnesota Canners Association has made them hesitate. And if they receive no letters from ordinary citizens or organizations in support of the bill, they can hardly be blamed for voting against it. I tell them that opponents of a measure always speak louder than proponents and I believe that most thinking people favor this progressive legislation. If my assumption is true, now is the time for citizens to let the legislature know.

If a representative or senator is on record against FEPC, his position is based in most cases on fears of what may happen if the law is passed. The conditions which he dreads have not materialized in eight states and three cities which have preceded Minnesota in obtaining an FEPC law.

If a representative or senator is on record in favor of FEPC, he needs moral support, for his position is strengthened by evidence of successful operation of the law in Minneapolis and in other communities. We have much support in Minnesota, I am sure, for this kind of legislation, but it does no good unless it is communicated to the people who make our laws at the Capitol.

I hope all who believe that FEPC is an important law to have passed this legislative session will write today.

Mrs. Harold Wilson League of Women Voters of Minnesota

<sup>\*</sup>This letter was sent to newspapers in the Twin City area.

# Communist-Inspired?

THE OPPONENTS of a state fair employment practices law are plucking the same old strings of prejudice and emotion. The FEPC idea, they say, is Communist-inspired. It is a police club intended to punish the employer and beat down the free enterprise system. The results of it, they continue, are endless bureaucratic confusions and harassments.



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# STATE-WIDE CITIZEN SUPPORT

#### FOR

# PROPOSED STATE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE BILL

February 24, 1951

### ORGANIZATIONAL ENDORSEMENTS RECEIVED TO DATE

Republican Party of Minnesota P. Kenneth Peterson, Chairman Legislative Sub-Committee Republican State Central Com. William B. Randall, Chairman Minnesota Young Republican League Julie Villaume, Chairwoman Minn. Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party Mrs. Dorothy Jacobson, Chairwoman Karl Rolvaag, Chairman Minn. Young DFL Association William Shovel, Chairman Marie Swenson, Chairwoman Governor's Interracial Commission Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, Chairman St. Paul Council of Human Relations James Oppenheimer, Chairman Minneapolis Mayor's Council on Human Relations, Rev. Daisuke Kitagawa, Chairman Duluth Interracial Council Gerald Heaney, Chairman American Legion, Dept. of Minnesota 61,000 members, Ben Peery, Rep. State Council, American Veterans Com. Charles Gendreau, State President 900 members League of Women Voters of Minnesota Mrs. Malcolm Hargreaves, State Pres. 44 Branches, 3400 members Legislative Committee, Minnesota Council of Churches, 1500 Churches Rev. Wilbur Grose, Chairman Minn. State Federation of Labor (AFL) Frank Marzitelli, Representative 600 local unions, 125,000 members State Industrial Union Council (CIO) Edward V. Donahue, Representative 122 local unions, 51,000 members Minnesota Farmers Union Edwin Christianson, President Gulley, Minn.; 60,000 members United Labor Committee for Human Rights Hubert A. Schon, Director Minn. United Nations Association York Langton, President

15,000 members

Minneapolis Urban League John G. Simmons, President 900 members St. Paul Urban League S. Vincent Owens, Director Minn. Congregational Conference, Social Action Committee, Dr. Hugo Thompson, Chairman, 170 churches 35,807 members Executive Committée, St. Paul Council of P.T.A., Mrs. Fred Paul United Citizens League Yukio Okamoto, Chairman Committee on Racial Equality Harriet Lane, National President Minn. State Council, Women's Int'l League, Mrs. Stewart Graves, Chrm. Minn. State Conference, N.A.A.C.P., Ashby Gaskins, President 4 chapters, 2100 members American Scandinavian Women's Club, Mrs. F. R. Olson, President Y.W.C.A. of Minneapolis Norma Stauffer, Director University of Minnesota, Y.W.C.A. Margaret Van Hoesen, Director University Student Council of Religion Mrs. Patricia Pomeroy, Rep. Macalester College Christian Assoc., Jessica Page, President St. Thomas College Student Assoc., Carleton College Student Association Anthony Downs, President Minnesota Jewish War Veterans Ben Belfer, Commander, 5 posts. 2500 members Nat'l Conference of Jewish Women Mrs. Stanley Zack, Legis. Chrmn. 7 chapters, 2600 members in Minn. Minnesota Rabbinical Association Rabbi W. Gunther Plaut, Rep. Elks Civil Liberties League C. R. Mendosa, Chairman Northwest Region of Hadassah Mrs. I. C. Mark, President 6 chapters, 4500 members in Minn.

Minnesota Jewish Council Samuel L. Scheiner, Director 35,000 members

Minneapolis Council of Church Women Rewey Belle Inglis, Representative

Minn. State Council, Americans for Democratic Action

Frank Paskewitz, President Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Monroe Schlactus, Regional Consultant

Mt. Zion Sisterhood, St. Paul

Mrs. Fremland, President, 380 members Womens League, Temple of Aaron, St. Paul

Mrs. Joseph Weizman, President 385 members

St. Paul Hadassah, Mrs. F. Friedman Representative, 1100 members

Ramsey County DFL Women's StudyGroup Mrs. G. Theodore Mitau, Representative

Women's Council, Hallie Q. Brown St. Paul

Minneapolis Chapter of Hadassah Mrs. Martin Lebedoff, President

Goodwill Industries St. Paul Women's Auxiliary Mrs. C. A. J. Abbott, President Japanese-American Community Center James Takata, President American Indians, Incorporated

Melvin Bisson, President

Delta Phi Omega Chapter, Alpha Kappa

Alpha Sorority, . St. Paul and Minneapolis, Mrs. Percia Hutcherson Representative

Gamma Xi Lambda Chapter, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Charles F. Rogers, Representative

Pilgrim Baptist Church, of St. Paul Rev. Floyd Massey, Jr.

Wayman A.M.E. Church, Minneapolis Rev. Wendell M. Johnson

Holsey Memorial C.M.E. Church Minneapolis, Rev. Paul Lewis

Twin City Japanese Christian Church Rev. Daisuke Kitagawa

Twin City Buddhist Association Sus Hirota

Social Action Committee First Universalist Church Harold Wilson, Representative

Joint Legislative Committee Minnesota Welfare Conference Fred Thomas, Chairman

# BUSINESS AND CIVIC LEADERS WHO SUPPORT

#### THE

# PROPOSED STATE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE BILL

(Business and organizational connections are listed for purposes of identification only.)

Governor Luther H. Youngdahl
Senator Edward Thye
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Julius Barnes, Duluth; President Barnes
Shipbuilding Co., Former President of
U.S. Chamber of Commerce

Judge Edward F. Waite, Minnespolis Retired Judge Hennepin County District Court, Treasurer, Minneapolis Mayor's Council on Human Relations

Martin Hughes, Hibbing, Attorney and civic leader

Mrs. Mabeth Hurd Paige, Minneapolis, Civic leader and former state legislator

Rev. Clifford Ansgar Nelson, St. Paul, Pastor, Gloria Dei Lutheran Church, former President Minnesota Council of Churches

Bradshaw Mintener, Vice-President and General Counsel, Pillsbury Mills; former chairman, Minnesota Methodist Conference

Amos S. Deinard, Minneapolis; Leonard, Street and Deinard; Chairman, City of Minneapolis, Fair Employment Practice Commission

George M. Jensen, Minneapolis; Vice-President, The Maico Co., Inc.; Chairman, Minn. Council for FEPC

Harry A. Bullis, Minneapolis; Chairman of the Board, General Mills, Inc. Donald C. Dayton, Minneapolis; President

and General Manager, The Dayton Co. D. W. Onan, Minneapolis; Chairman of the Board, D. W. Onan and Sons, Inc.

Stuart W. Leck, Minneapolis; President, James Leck Co., Builders; former President, Good Government Group

Doddrick Olson, Minneapolis; President, Powers Dry Goods Company, Inc.

Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis; President, G. H. Tennant Co.; Chairman, Mpls. Industrial Manpower Committee Mrs. F. Peavey Heffelfinger, Wayzata; Republican National Committeewoman from Minnesota

Mrs. Ione Hunt, Montevideo; Democratic National Committeewoman from Minnesota

Jack Butwin, St. Paul; President, Butwin Sportswear, Inc.

York Langton, Minneapolis; Trade Extension Manager, Coast-to-Coast Stores; President, Minnesota United Nations Associations

Campbell W. Elliott, Hopkins; Vice-President in Charge of Industrial Relations, Minneapolis-Moline Power Implement Company

Meyer Dorfman, St. Paul; President, Colonial Felt Mills

Rev. Reuben K, Youngdahl, Minneapolis; Pastor. Mt. Olivet Lutheran Church; Former Chairman, Mpls. Mayor's Council on Human Relations

Arthur Randall, Minneapolis; Vice-President in Charge of Personnel, D. W. Onan and Sons, Inc.

Robert Olson, President, Minnesota State Federation of Labor, AFL

Rodney Jacobson, Golden Valley; Sec.-Treas. State Industrial Union Council, CIO

Erwin Oreck, Duluth; President, Oreck's Department Store; member of executive board, Duluth Interracial Council

Rev. Arthur Foote, St. Paul, Pastor, Unity Church; former Chairman, St. Paul Council of Human Relations

Mrs. Philip Lush, Mound; Chairman, Civil Rights Committee, State League of Women Voters

Rev. Carl Storm, Minneapolis; Pastor First Unitarian Society

Warren Burger, St. Paul; Attorney, Vice-Chairman. St. Paul Council of Human Relations Rev. Carl Olson, Minneapolis; Pastor, First Universalist Church; Chairman, Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority

N. C. Kearney, St. Paul; Assistant Superintendent of Schools in Charge of

Research and Curriculum

C. William Sykora, Minneapolis; formerly chairman, Civil Affairs Committee, Mpls. Junior Chamber of Commerce

Frank Marzitelli, St. Paul; Commissioner of Education, City of St. Paul

Howard F. Portier, Minneapolis; Local 974, Warehouseman's Union, Teamsters Joint Council

Raymond W. Cannon, Minneapolis; Attorney, Vice-Chairman, Mpls. Mayor's Council on Human Relations

W. Gunther Plaut, Rabbi, Mt. Zion Temple, St. Paul

Mrs. Harold E. Wood, St. Paul; Civic leader, former chairman Women's Institute, St. Paul; Board Member, St. Paul Urban League

Charles Wegner, St. Paul; Director, Goodwill Industries, St. Paul

Rev. Max Karl, St. Paul; Pastor, Goodrich Avenue Presbyterian Church, St. Paul Mrs. Rosser H. Matson, St. Paul;
Chairwoman, Committee on Citizen
Support for the Minn. Council for
FEPC; Former President, St. Paul
Inter-Club Council; Chmn, Speakers'
Bureau, Minnesota U.N. Association

Abbott Washburn, Minneapolis; Public Services Director, General Mills,

Inc.

Dr. Hurst Anderson, St. Paul; President, Hamline University

Dr. Lawrence M. Gould, Northfield; President, Carleton College

Dr. Charles Turck, St. Paul; President, Macalester College

Very Reverend Vincent S. Flynn, President, St. Thomas College

Herman Cohen, Rabbi, Temple of Aaron, St. Paul

Mrs. Edward Perlman, St. Paul; President, St. Paul Association of Jewish Women's Organizations

Louis Goldstein, St. Paul; Director, Jewish Community Center

I. E. Simon, President, Simon and Mogilner Company, St. Paul

S. S. Grais, President, Gray's Drug Stores, Inc., St. Paul